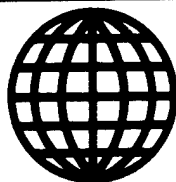


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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

***KOMMUNIST***

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## SOVIET UNION

### KOMMUNIST

No 9, June 1987

[Translation of the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow 18 times per year.]

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## IMPROVING TRAINING AND RETRAINING OF LEADING PARTY CADRES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 87 (signed to press 3 Jun 87) pp 3-13

[Article by Georgiy Petrovich Razumovskiy, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Article based on a report delivered at a CPSU Central Committee Conference on training and retraining party, soviet and ideological cadres]

[Text] Currently the ideas and concepts formulated at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum are being studied actively and with interest, discussed and comprehensively considered and implemented in the party and the country. The plenum was a major political event in the life of the party and the Soviet people. Its resolutions and revolutionary bolshevik spirit literally roused our society, leaving no one indifferent. It provided a powerful impetus to the country's restructuring, enriched our theoretical concepts of socialism and brought the line of the 27th Congress to the level of practical actions, based on the comprehensive democratization of Soviet society. The plenum drew the necessary lessons from the past and from errors in cadre work and distortions in cadre policy, which had brought about major shortcomings in the activities of a number of units within the party, state and economic apparatus and negative phenomena in society.

M.S. Gorbachev's speech and the plenum's resolutions formulate principles of cadre policy consistent with the contemporary stage in the development of Soviet society, the purpose of which is to ensure the high efficiency of all party and state units, of our entire social organism. A broad set of steps are contemplated, aimed at further strengthening the cadre potential and its timely reinforcement with fresh forces, improving the training and utilization of specialists and perfecting the system for upgrading the skills of management workers.

The CPSU considers one of its most important tasks that of improving Marxist-Leninist training, upgrading the political standards of party cadres, and developing in them the skill of working and guiding the people under the conditions of expanded democracy, extensive openness and growing social and labor activeness of the people. In this connection, the plenum ascribed particular importance to the steps earmarked by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on the comprehensive restructuring of the system of party and political education and ensuring its closest possible ties with life.

The study of the situation indicated that the training and retraining of party, soviet and ideological workers had fallen in its development behind the increased tasks of the party and that the possibilities of the higher party educational institutions in training a cadre reserve were being insufficiently used. A certain trend toward frustrating higher party-political education had even been noted. Between 1978 and 1985 the number of trainees enrolled at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the higher party schools, for example, had declined by nearly 40 percent. The share of party workers among the new students had been declining steadily. In 1985 they accounted for no more than 45 percent of all students.

At the present time, although virtually all members of party committees have higher training, nearly one-half of secretaries and heads of departments of central committees of communist parties of union republics, kraykoms and obkoms, and more than one-half of secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms and three-quarters of other senior personnel of republic, kray and oblast committees have no higher party-political training. Such underestimating of ideological-political training of cadres adversely affected the work style of party committees as agencies of political management.

The profound changes which have taken place in our society, based on the resolutions of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the implementation of the course of accelerated socioeconomic development and the comprehensive democratization of all aspects of social life are formulating new requirements concerning the level of overall political, ideological and organizational activities. The success of restructuring, as was emphasized at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, will decisively depend on the extent to which our parties become quickly and profoundly imbued with the understanding of the need for revolutionary changes and the extent to which they will act firmly, energetically and competently. More than ever before they must display creative and initiative-minded efforts and the ability to generate new ideas and approaches on the basis of profound theoretical and practical knowledge. They must properly master Marxist-Leninist methodology and the skills of political management. Under those circumstances, the mass and efficient ideological and theoretical training of party, soviet and ideological cadres becomes the most important concern of party committees and higher party educational institutions.

The new concept in the development of the professional training and retraining of party, soviet and ideological workers, which was formulated in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Improving Party-Political Education of Leading Cadres in the Light of the Resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress" is aimed at attaining a new level in such training, which would maximally take restructuring and acceleration into consideration. It was deemed necessary to virtually double the training of cadres in higher party educational institutions on a full-time basis and to triple such training by correspondence over the next 10 to 15 years. This very year enrollment in such institutions will be raised to 6,300 people, as compared to 4,500 in 1985. The overall number of post-graduate and undergraduate students will be increased by 4,000 and will total 19,000. Additional 4-year departments were opened in the higher party schools in Tashkent, Baku and Moscow; a branch of the higher party school was opened in Volgograd. Party workers account for 63

percent of students enrolled in 1986 and 74 percent of those enrolled in the 2- and 3-year departments.

One of the main problems being resolved currently is that of substantially upgrading the role of higher party educational institutions in training a politically educated cadre reserve for all party management levels. Conditions are being set which will enable the majority of party workers to acquire higher party-political training, starting with the released secretaries of party organizations. Some job restrictions which existed for this category of cadres, preventing their enrollment in party schools, have been lifted. The age criteria for student enrollment have been substantially amended. The previous age limit was 45 and was closer to the final segment of the worker's labor career than to its start. In other words, studies were virtually unrelated to the training of reserves. Today party members under 35 are accepted for full-time training but age restrictions for students enrolling in evening and correspondence departments are virtually nonexistent.

The overall trend is to direct as early as possible the leading cadres toward specialized party-political training and to stimulate their interest in the intensified study of Marxist-Leninist theory and party experience. The training of party cadres on the city and rayon level is ascribed prime importance. In 1986, for example, 920 gorkom and raykom secretaries enrolled in party VUZs, or 350 more than in 1984. If this trend is maintained, in 5 to 7 years as many as 80 percent of such secretaries on the city and rayon level will have graduated from higher party educational institutions. Greater attention is being paid to worker categories such as gorkom and raykom instructors and released party organization secretaries. Currently, no more than 6 and 10 percent, respectively, among them have party political training. Yet this category of cadres accounts for two-thirds of the party apparatus. It is for them that mass training must be organized. This is the correct line which will enable us to make radical changes in the ideological and political training of cadres of city and rayon committees and relieved party organization secretaries.

A process of horizontal transfer of cadres, including from one region to another, has been initiated and is increasingly being practiced in the party. This is taken into consideration in organizing the work of the higher party educational institutions. Of late enrollment has been increased on an interregional basis. This year students from the republics of Central Asia, the Transcaucasus and Moldavia are enrolled in RSFSR higher party schools. Meanwhile, for the first time, personnel from various oblasts in the RSFSR, the Ukraine and Belorussia are attending party schools in Alma-Ata, Tashkent and Baku. The widening of the areas for which the higher party schools are training cadres sets new tasks to the party committees not only of the republics, krays and oblasts where higher party schools are located. This enhances the responsibility of all committees in training students, their upbringing and preparedness for future work.

The experience of recent decades proved that in the case of workers with basic higher training a 2-year term of full time and a 3-year term of correspondence training offers good opportunities for obtaining an amount of knowledge consistent with the requirements of contemporary ideological-political

education. That is why said forms and terms of training, which apply to more than 86 percent of students attending higher party schools, are retained. Also retained are the 4-year full-time training departments for graduates of secondary schools.

Particular attention must be paid to this form of cadre training. Today one-third of graduates of 4-year departments of higher party schools are workers and kolkhoz members. The educational structure of the working class and the peasantry has changed. Jobs are being held by hundreds of thousands of young secondary school graduates. Many of them actively participate in social life, show great interest in political work and are elected members of party committees and deputies. The most worthy party members among them are assigned to higher party schools and, after graduation, recommended for the positions of secretaries of party committees of enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, for work in party raykoms and gorkoms and, as a rule, are considered very useful workers. The 4-year departments are attended by many leading officials and specialists with secondary training. All of this is a real and valuable reserve.

We know that party, soviet and ideological work cannot be made to fit entirely the framework of any given profession. Furthermore, whenever the performance of specific political functions is of a permanent nature, a system of knowledge and mastery of collective experience in doing political work among the masses are necessary. After graduating from a higher party school, the students are considered specialists in "Party and Soviet Building." This presumes the mastery of the necessary knowledge and skills for professional implementation of obligations in the party, soviet and ideological apparatus and knowledge which entitles the individuals to teach the theory of scientific communism. This specialty has been included in the state list of specialties by order of the USSR Minvuz.

Profound organizational changes are taking place in the training and retraining of party, soviet and ideological cadres. As a whole, the significance of the long-term approach will be enhanced in the work of the party committees. We must knowledgeably project the training of personnel and see their potential for growing and progress. One of the best traditions of Leninism is the timely and organized training of detachments of party fighters for revolutionary change. "That is precisely why it is necessary for the entire party to train systematically, silently and steadily suitable people in the center, and clearly see all activities of any candidate for such high positions, and be familiar even with the individual features of the candidates, their weak and strong sides, and their victories and 'defeats'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], vol 8, p 96). This Leninist approach applies to this day. There have been tremendous changes in the conditions of party work but the essence of the matter has remained unchanged.

Party committees which systematically project cadre changes, determine in advance where workers will be needed, creatively choose the means and areas of training various categories of managers and show constant interest in their ideological and political training are acting properly. Every senior party worker must master Marxist-Leninist theory. As to his future work, it should

be refined in the course of the training and it would be better for this to be accomplished jointly by the party committee and the higher party school.

The striving to set up a mechanism based on such accurate principles, applicable not only to the timely choice of candidates for training but also their supervision and rating of their successes and accomplishments in the course of the training, is based on the idea of correspondence-full-time training organized in 1987 by the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. The intention is to enroll here as many as 200 comrades who will be trained as reserve personnel for leading positions on the republic, kray and oblast levels and for work within the CPSU Central Committee apparatus and the central ideological organizations. The curriculum of this new department stipulates that classes for the first 2 years will be by correspondence but full-time training will be offered during the third year without relieving the students from their jobs. Naturally, this requires substantially different approaches to work with the cadre reserve.

The all-round and permanent study of the experience of party, soviet and ideological organizations and labor collectives in the process of training, summing up and disseminating this experience by party VUZs jointly with party committees is of major importance in improving the quality of cadre training. Today the academies and higher party schools employ some 1,500 teachers and scientific associates, who train more than 6,000 post-graduate and undergraduate full-time students. In the course of time, their number will be increased. Unquestionably, this major force can and must undertake to sum up the experience of practical work and submit scientific recommendations for its improvement.

The higher party schools maintain comprehensive relations with the local organizations. They have developed some traditions in the study of their work and are seeking new ways and means of interacting with them. For example, scientists and students at the Higher Party School of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee are studying and summing up the experience of party work related to comprehensive target programs, together with the republic's party committees. The students at the 4-year department of the Leningrad Higher Party School are assigned for their entire training period to city party raykoms as supernumerary instructors. The school has undertaken to provide ideological support to the "Intensification-90" program. Of late attention has been drawn to mass studies conducted by specialists from the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, dealing with various aspects of restructuring and the attitude toward it of party workers, and workers and employees in labor collectives. The list of such examples could be extended. However, this would be merely a list rather than a reflection of the system. Many substantial shortcomings remain in the efforts to study party practical work. The main one is lagging behind new requirements.

A number of interesting social initiatives have come to light of late, which must be interpreted by party VUZ scientists. This includes new aspects in the work of party and public organizations at AvtoVAZ and the Sumy Machine Building Scientific-Production Association imeni M.V. Frunze, whose labor collectives were the first to convert to the principles of self-support and self-financing, and the persistent struggle for achieving higher scientific

and technical standards at enterprises, such as the Ivanovo Machine-Tool Building Production Association imeni 50-Letiya SSSR. This also includes new forms of economic self-government, similar to those operating at Mosobltselstroy Trust No 18. Similar examples of creative and active participation by Soviet people in the implementation of truly revolutionary changes may be found in many sectors and parts of the country. However, they are not being subjected to a profound scientific assessment. The main reason for the lack of initiative displayed by academies and party schools is that for many years they were limited to petty summations, bypassing major problems.

Currently the situation is changing. In accordance with the new requirements, long-term joint research programs are being formulated for party educational institutions and central committees of communist parties, kraykoms and obkoms. Broader studies are planned under the aegis of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. The activities of its scientific research subdivisions are being reorganized. The introduction of full-time practical training in party committees for up to 6 months for teachers and 2 months for post-graduate and undergraduate students also provides conditions for the better study and summation of the most efficient ways and means of political and organizational work. The systematic exchange of experience in cadre training with fraternal parties also contributes to perfecting the scientific and training work of higher party educational institutions.

The system of cadre courses is being substantially reorganized. This year will mark the 20th anniversary of the establishment of courses at academies, higher party schools and party committees. Within that time retraining through courses has earned the recognition of leading cadres. It has made it possible to upgrade once every 5 years the skills of specific nomenclature workers, who attend classes for up to 1 month on a full-time basis. In the past 5 years 263,000 people have attended such courses.

Proceeding from the demands of the party for a contemporary continuous cadre training system, and taking into consideration the dynamism of our progress, the CPSU Central Committee deemed it necessary to organize the mass retraining of personnel twice every 5 years, at courses lasting between 2 and 3 weeks. This has doubled the work of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Institute for Upgrading Skills. Courses at the higher party school were reorganized into skill-upgrading departments. Stricter demands have been formulated concerning the level of such classes, and an increased number of students will undergo such training. Courses sponsored by party committees are being developed further.

The study of on-site local practical experience is being practiced more extensively during such training courses and on all levels. Party and other managers are addressing students more regularly. Comprehensively, the party committees have begun to pay great attention to the courses. However, we must continue to improve course training. We must introduce in the system for upgrading skills the most valuable aspects of the acquired experience and the most progressive ideas. We must sponsor more extensively broad discussions of such ideas and intensify the knowledge of the students and have the best specialists and party and state workers lecture the students. These are, one

could say, our "staff exercises" in perfecting the skill of cadres and enriching their ideological-political and organizational arsenal. Their standards must be high enough to enable them truly to improve party work.

The central committees of union republics and the kraykoms and obkoms must systematically work with the party schools. They must be suitably familiar with their lives and problems and promptly solve any eventual problem. They must constantly look for new forms of guidance of higher party schools and upgrade their efficiency.

Improving the standard of training is of prime importance among the set of measures aimed at perfecting the training and retraining of leading cadres. This is the main task of the higher party educational institutions, their rectorates and party organizations and faculties.

The April Plenum and the 27th Party Congress inaugurated a new stage in the theoretical interpretation of reality. This convincingly proves Lenin's concept that Marxism is distinguished by an "outstanding combination of total scientific sobriety in the study of the objective situation and the objective course of evolution with the firmest possible acknowledgment of the significance of revolutionary theory, revolutionary creativity and revolutionary initiative of the masses..." (op cit., vol 16, p 23). The party's concept of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development became the base of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. The real process of restructuring is gathering strength. It has affected all areas of social development and has already contributed a great deal to our society despite all difficulties.

The social sciences are turning to the accurate study of the past and the present. The situation is such that it is no longer possible to approach many problems on the basis of the old positions. We must reassess the values and the theoretical and methodical development of the content and forms of training.

The study of Marxist-Leninist theory is a creative process. Its principles, which developed in the course of decades and which have undergone long practical tests, have great continuity. It is a question, above all, of observing the principle of unity in the study of the structural components of Marxist-Leninist theory and CPSU historical experience. This principle has withstood the test of time and the practice of building socialism. It is a starting point in further upgrading the level of cadre theoretical training.

Let us note in this connection that the particularly intensified study of individual problems is, unquestionably, important and necessary. However, the problem approach to the training process must not be self-seeking and replace the systematic study of Marxism-Leninism. The pitting of the former against the latter, which was recently being practiced, is erroneous, for each topic in Marxist-Leninist theory includes a problem addressed to the present and the future.

The higher party schools must not simply repeat the Marxist-Leninist truths which are taught in school. This applies to all structural components of



Marxism-leninism. We must substantially enhance standards in the study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in party VUZs. The time has come to convert from eliminating illiteracy in philosophy to developing in leading cadres the skill of a scientific, a conceptual summation of reality. The 27th Party Congress and January CPSU Central Committee Plenum pointed out the new opportunities existing for the growth of cadre philosophical standards. This applies, for example, to the study of contradictions, which V.I. Lenin described as the nucleus of dialectics. The congress set high examples in highlighting contradictions, their motive forces and the adoption of a daring and creative approach in seeking ways of solving contradictions, rather than tolerating or suppressing them. Many new features have been introduced in the sociophilosophical interpretation of the human (subjective) factor. Now it is a question of decisively eliminating the boring reinterpretation of familiar concepts and getting rid of the fear of new philosophical summations of reality.

As we know, a program for the formulation of basic problems of socialist political economy, as applicable to the current stage in building socialism, was drafted by the 27th CPSU Congress. Suffice it to look at the interpretation of the problems of socialist ownership, development of commodity-monetary relations, cost accounting and economic cooperation among CEMA members to realize how much more concretely the content of such problems has been formulated. This increases the respective requirements concerning the theoretical and political-economic training of cadres.

One of the features of our time is that the processes of restructuring and of its theoretical interpretation go hand in hand. In implementing the congress' resolutions, the party has converted from economic experimentation to wide-scale state measures and to an economic policy of intensification. Unfortunately, however, the teachers of economic subjects have still not been able to surmount theoretical and methodological difficulties. This is holding back the necessary scientific summation and interpretation of problems of perfecting our economic mechanism.

No stagnation must be allowed to occur in the political and economic training of leading cadres, although it is entirely understandable that in order to update the course of socialist political economy a certain amount of time will be necessary. It is also clear, however, that as of today we have sufficient data, studies and theoretical interpretations which will enable us to change the obsolete concepts and get rid of sterile abstractions faster. Unquestionably, efforts made in this area will contribute to putting new ideas into scientific circulation and provide the necessary impetus for practical activities.

Many remarks arise also on the subject of training in the theory of scientific communism. It is hardly proper to ignore the history of the establishment of this structural component of Marxist-Leninist theory and pay excessive attention to the general features of the higher phase of communism, as presented in textbooks and popular works, to the detriment of the characterization of real socialism and the study of contradictions in its development. Efforts to weaken its political sharpness by dogmatically emphasizing abstract social management theories are substantially harming the

study of problems of scientific communism. What could be the use of unprovable and sluggish considerations of the objective, scientific and systemic nature of management and of management relations which are considered outside of their time frame and social realities? Nonetheless, in frequent cases such views are presented as the Leninist concept of the scientific management of socialist society, although it is known that Lenin always formulated such problems in specific terms and analyzed them from exceptionally sharp political standpoints, relating them to a precise analysis of economic relations. To one extent or another, the abstract approach led to the alienation of this scientific discipline from life. As a result, the concept of socialist self-government by the people and the steps for the democratization of social life, formulated at the 27th Congress and the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, caught specialists in scientific communism unawares.

It is important to pay proper attention to problems such as the development of international relations and international and patriotic upbringing. We must also perfect the study of the problems of the global revolutionary process and CPSU foreign policy activities. We have rich traditions in terms of their interpretation. Today, however, the situation is changing drastically. The study of said problems must become very deep and wide in the light of the new style of political thinking and the viewpoint of the new correlation between the universal and class aspects in global developments and international politics. The reciprocal study and exchange of experience in the comprehensive activities of fraternal parties and their practical experience in solving economic and social problems and organizing efficient international cooperation are becoming increasingly important. In economics, for example, today direct relations between enterprises in different countries, involving the participation of thousands of working people, are being developed. Under these circumstances it is becoming increasingly necessary for our cadres to be familiar with the mechanism of reciprocal economic relations within the socialist community and the ability to rely on this mechanism in their practical efforts to intensify and broaden fraternal cooperation.

The combination of profound theoretical with efficient practical training of cadres is an important principle in the development of party political education. In the various stages of building socialism, the party has always seen to it that its schools were close to problems of practical work and responded to such problems promptly. The present article has discussed merely some aspects of the utilization of the forces of higher party schools by party committees in the study and summation of experience. As a whole, however, the problem is much broader. The profound study of practical work is an inseparable part of the training of party, soviet and ideological cadres of which it is the base.

The study of party and soviet building is of major importance in the training process. In recent years specialists in problems of party building have invested a great deal of work in the development of this discipline. However, we are only at the beginning of the way. Much more remains to be done in order to ensure further progress.

Unwittingly, the impression develops that the authors of curriculums and textbooks, scientists and teachers still lack the necessary dialectical view on the analyzed processes in life, including that of party development. Always concerned with the idea that the course in party building must be "basic" and "categorized," its compilers energetically emphasize the objective nature of the laws governing this science, forgetting that in the real life of society the demands of objective laws are subjectivized and refracted in the activities of party collectives and party members. Therefore, the most interesting and important feature from the viewpoint of cadre training is depicting the conversion from objective to subjective factors and identifying the role of the latter in restructuring the party guidance of social processes. Otherwise, as is frequently the case in practical training, abstraction prevails over concreteness and we note a mechanical linking of facts to theoretical concepts.

The negative processes in intraparty life, against which today an uncompromising struggle is being waged, influenced shortcomings in the formulation and study of problems of party building. However, they were not the only reason; a considerable influence was exerted here by the nonhistorical approach to many topics. Historicism in the study of problems of party building is very important. The lessons of the past enable us to be guided more accurately in current events and to avoid errors in the future.

Under contemporary conditions of cadre training the educational functions of the course in party building must be intensified by directly addressing ourselves to topical problems. The formulation of comprehensively substantiated requirements concerning the practical qualities of party, soviet, ideological and other leading personnel assumes tremendous importance in the struggle against stagnation.

In this case priority must be given to the ability of cadres to draw proper political conclusions based on economic reality. Quite frequently it is precisely the middle link in the chain of economic fact-political conclusion-form of party solution that is lost. Hence the use of old forms under new circumstances, bureaucratic administration, paper chasing and other manifestations of formalism. A significant percentage of workers cannot understand the link between the new economic and political phenomena. However, they quite rapidly master the misleading "efficiency" of issuing commands, falling into a technocratic attitude and forgetting the fact that our party does not take over the functions of economic and soviet authorities.

No less important to the party worker is his high standards of professional and political work among the working people, the need for which is dictated by the broadening and intensification of socialist democracy, political self-government and rule by the people. The professionalism of the party worker is manifested by his ability personally to engage in the ideological upbringing of the working people and an inner need for doing ideological work. Such qualities must be developed in the training course in party building, without violating its integrity.

One of the features of our time is the inordinate closeness developing among ideological-political, legal, cultural and moral aspects in the upbringing of

leading cadres. Such convergence is dictated by the increased political activeness and the overall standards of the working people and the variety of their needs and interests. The Soviet people want to see in their leaders ideologically tempered fighters, highly educated people, true bearers of socialist morality.

The higher party schools can and must do a great deal in the struggle for the pure and shining image of the party member. The entire organization of training and social life in such schools must contribute to the development of high moral qualities. It must promote intolerance of and uncompromising attitude in the struggle against any efforts on the part of individuals to apply double morality standards and to convert power and social benefits into personal privileges.

One of the weak aspects in the system of party-political training is the training of cadres in socialist culture and promoting their understanding of all aspects of party policy in this area. The study time of post-graduate and undergraduate students in party VUZs can and must be used for their comprehensive cultural development. The curriculum includes the new subject "Foundations of Socialist Culture," which is taught in the respective departments. This initiative is worthy of support also because it will help to develop fruitful contacts between party VUZs and cultural institutions.

The entire process of training in party VUZs must be aimed at developing personnel loyal to the party and the people, true innovators who profoundly realize the need for quality changes in our society, who are capable of creatively promoting the party line and who actively involve themselves in the process of renovation and dedicate all their strength to the common cause and to ensuring its success. Party school training must develop the inner need for constantly expanding one's theoretical knowledge. We must never forget Lenin's requirement of the independent study of Marxism and personal participation in propaganda and lecturing work.

Even such a brief survey of areas in which the content of teaching must be improved most clearly indicates that success in this matter largely depends on the development of scientific and scientific-methodical research. It would be accurate to note in this connection that shortcomings in the development of social science research, as noted in CPSU Central Committee resolutions on a number of scientific institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the journal KOMMUNIST, and the remarks voiced at the all-union conference of heads of departments of social science VUZs equally apply to the scientific and teaching faculties of the Academy of Social Sciences and to the higher party schools. The social scientists in the higher party schools must always remember, as M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, that "theoretical activities become one of the most important motive forces in building socialism and communism and the most important instrument in restructuring."

Students in party VUZs have the serious responsibility of studying the laws governing the development of the party, its leading role and its foreign policy activities. A great deal is being done of late to strengthen the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. Here post-graduate training and work on earning various degrees has been increased drastically. Naturally,

this presumes not only upgrading the level of its theoretical potential but also ensuring its more efficient returns.

The main problem today is that of teaching cadres at party VUZs. It is precisely they, in the final account, who determine the quality of training of those who will be entrusted with directing the restructuring and ensuring acceleration. "No control, curriculum, etc.," V.I. Lenin emphasized, "can change absolutely anything in the nature of teaching, which is determined by the nature of the lecturers" (op cit., vol 47, p 194).

We must admit that academies and party schools still have teachers who do not meet contemporary requirements, who are unable to restructure their classes and instill life in lectures and seminars and change teaching methods. Unfortunately, the aging process of teaching staffs is increasing and scientific replacements are being poorly trained. Most departments of higher party schools are headed by candidates of sciences. Meanwhile, poor work is being done in the academies with young and promising workers. The average age of seekers of doctoral dissertations in academic councils is over 50.

Teachers in party VUZs must be distinguished by their creative approach to the work, dissatisfaction with achievements and ability masterly to share their knowledge, experience and skills with the students. That is why one of the key tasks is to ensure the hiring of fresh teaching forces in such establishments, selected among the most outstanding practical workers, talented experts, major scientists and highly gifted students. Together with rectorates and departments of higher party schools, the central committees of communist parties of union republics and the party kraykoms and obkoms must find and nurture such people and recommend them as teachers. All necessary conditions to this effect are currently being created. At the same time, however, the party authorities assume greater responsibility for the choice of party VUZ personnel.

The democratic principles in the selection and promotion of leading cadres are becoming increasingly stronger in our daily life and tested through practical experience. The practice of solving cadre problems in party schools must provide a tangible lesson and teach both teachers and students the complex yet very important problem of how to choose their managers. New approaches must be sought more daringly and energetically; the appointment of deans and department heads, prorectors and rectors of party schools must be organized on a truly democratic basis and new approaches must be tested and experience gained more daringly and energetically.

Openness and confidential frankness must be fully developed among teachers and students in party schools. Here everything should predispose for open statements and interested exchange of views. Naturally, the trainees must display high dedication and set examples of practical and principle-minded reaction to the new complex problems. Particular attention must be paid to criticism, including public scientific criticism.

All of this formulates special requirements concerning the work of the party organizations in party VUZs. Their role is increasing significantly. Party committees and buros of party organizations and party groups must actively

influence the organization of training-methodical, scientific research and ideological education work and the quality of student training; they must make such training more specific and increase the efficiency of decisions. The activities of party organizations must also become a true educational course for students and graduate students in party schools.

Historical conditions and the urgent requirements of the present have maximally packed our days. Today we cannot allow any slackening and tolerance, hesitations and loss of dynamism and energy in restructuring. This fully applies to the work of party VUZs, which must most fully and strictly meet the tasks of the revolutionary restructuring of our society.

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## EMBODIMENT OF IDEAS; ROUNDTABLE MEETING AT THE ADAZHI KOLKHOZ-AGRICULTURAL FIRM

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[Text] Today there is great need for practical accomplishments which would embody the ideas of restructuring. This underscores the importance of real experience and specific steps taken in the development of new technologies, the administrative system and the economic management mechanism and in changes in labor and social conditions.

Recently four agrofirms were set up in Latvia. What triggered their creation? How is this new form of agroindustrial association different from other, already existing ones? To what extent is this experience applicable?

We already reported that a roundtable meeting was held by the editors of KOMMUNIST and KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII, with the participation of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, in one such farm--the Adazhi Kolkhoz-Agrofirm. The heads of two other agrofirms--imeni XXV Syezda KPSS and Krasnyy Oktyabr and members of the republic's scientific, party and economic agencies participated in the discussion of the problems related to the birth of this idea and its implementation. With this issue we are beginning to tell the story of this meeting. The main attention will be concentrated directly on the Adazhi Kolkhoz and the economic, organizational and moral foundations on which the agrofirm is now being structured (the roundtable materials were prepared by Boris Semenovich Arkhipov, KOMMUNIST editor, Vladislav Yanovich Brokan, editor in chief of KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII, and Svetlana Fedorovna Yarmolyuk, KOMMUNIST political commentator).

### Standards Generate Standards

Why Adazhi? Today this is a farm with high crops, where cows yield double the national milk average, a farm with an income in the tens of millions of rubles and where foreign delegations become enthused when they visit the kolkhoz kindergarten. These are facts familiar to many people. Fewer people know how the kolkhoz reached this level, and the kind of work and the efforts and risks involved in earning those rubles which subsequently turned into millions, and the traditions which have been established and kept in Adazhi, and the nature of the guidelines of its economic and social policies.

In opening the roundtable meeting, Chairman Albert Ernestovich Kauls, Hero of Socialist Labor, said in his address to the kolkhoz members: "We have made serious preparations and will act most responsibly. The main thing, in my view, is to speak of what we have accomplished and the way we worked."

This was first-hand experience and we would like to discuss it in greater detail. Without quoting verbatim the speeches made by all kolkhoz members who participated in the meeting, we shall try to present their essence, adding our own impressions from our study of the farm.

It has become customary to read and hear that one kolkhoz or another has its 30th, 12th or "13th chairman," the latter being treated as some kind of phenomenon, as though this "13th" chairman would change everything in the farm, find the "weak sides" and, finally, made the breakthrough. Next year Adazhi will be celebrating its 40th birthday. It is in its third chairman. In 1956 Martin Kreslinsh, its founder, was replaced by Iosif Kukelis, former district party organizer and machine tractor station political worker; after slightly more than 17 years he was replaced by Albert Kauls, candidate of agricultural sciences. They did not eliminate the achievements of their predecessors but, acutely aware of their time, tried to meet current requirements, realizing that if they did not advance they would fall behind. That is why even after 15 mergers with economically weak farms, the kolkhoz remained true to itself: it remained a standard setter for others and the standard itself was raised.

Following are a few figures which were cited in the course of the discussions. One such merger with a weaker kolkhoz took place in 1974; another in 1982; these farms were dozens of kilometers away from the Adazhi settlement (which today is a separate complex production sector of the kolkhoz, spread over 4,800 hectares). A comparison between economic activities in 1975 and 1986 would show the following: grain crop yields increased from 23.8 to 50.1 quintals per hectare; average milk production per cow, from 3,442 to 5,080 kgs; respectively, production per 100 hectares of farmland was 854 and 1,590 quintals; meat, 141 and 583; earnings from sales increased from 12.8 million rubles in 1975 to 45 million in 1986 and net income, correspondingly, from 2.9 to 11 million rubles. It is also worth noting that the kolkhoz started with 28 families and poor land; the quality rating of its fields is 36 points....

It is sometimes said that since the kolkhoz is located in the vicinity of Riga many of its problems, that of cadres above all, can be resolved more easily. But is that so? There was a time when the city "dragged in" all young people and the questions of how to keep people, how to improve salaries, how to organize the farm and the way of life were urgent, considering the lack of available funds. Where to find the money? A game farm with 25 foxes and a shop for making shovel handles were set up. Today we have become accustomed to speak of the organization of auxiliary production facilities (although even now such projects are by no means set up without a hitch). At that time, this was the risk which the managers and kolkhoz members in Adazhi had to take. They went through a great deal, charges were leveled against them, and they had to surmount many obstacles without giving up: they were virtually the first to use plastic covers (instead of expensive glass) in their hothouses and began to raise early cucumbers; they were the first to face the problem of



marketing; they organized the processing of vegetables; they found a solution even when a shortage of plastic covers developed: they collected waste from enterprises and learned how to make granules from bits and pieces and turn them into plastic covers.

It was thus that they solved the problem of "initial accumulation." It was a question less of what was being done than of how. Let us have a small digression and cite an excerpt from the essay about Adazhi, which author Anatoliy Agranovskiyy wrote in 1971: "A number of electric saws, planing and milling machine tools, grinders and dryers were installed in the old cow shed (a new one had already been built). Lumber rolled along the conveyer belt, machined into handles for shovels and smaller broomsticks. Shorter pieces became ax handles. Were they needed? They certainly were! Orders for them came even from distant Siberia, as though Siberia had no timber, manpower or inventive people.... There was waste, small bits after the handles had been cut to the proper size. They were turned into rollers for house painting. What else? Flat pieces were used to make packaging cases, which were tremendously needed. What else? Simply bits of wood which were initially burned but are now used to make souvenirs, such as candlesticks, buttons, brooches and carvings from various types of wood (this year such souvenirs will bring an income of half-a-million rubles!). All that was left were shavings. The first houses made of plaster with pressed wood tiles have already been completed. Everything is used. Now, one can move on."

This is not simply an event in kolkhoz practices. It is its work style which, possibly, appeared from love for order, and largely from necessity. The result, however, is the following rule: everything comes down to the mind. It has become customary (or is it a standard of life?) to assume more obligations. This applies above all to solving the main problems related to increasing agricultural production. Auxiliary industries helped without, however, overshadowing the main work.

From the address by A. Kauls, Adazhi Kolkhoz chairman:

Particularly noteworthy in the development of our farm is a period (starting with the 10th 5-Year Plan) when the farm had already strengthened, had a certain material and technical base, when people had acquired a proper degree of awareness and professional training, and when work on converting agricultural production to an industrial system was undertaken.

In animal husbandry this was related to the building of complexes for the production of milk, meat and broilers, along with concentration and specialization. One of the leading trends in the specialization of our kolkhoz is dairy farming. Its development largely determined the completion of the "Brilyanti" complex, which cost the farm 2.2 million rubles. This is a one-of-a-kind engineering-biological system in which all processes are mechanized and partially automated; there are 24 television cameras which help the dispatcher control all technological operations. Now more than one-third of our entire milk production comes from there. A central feed kitchen was built, which supplies the farm with balanced feeds and rations. Kolkhoz specialists developed and applied an automated breeding control system.

During the period I am discussing, land reclamation steps were taken in crop growing; a system of double moisture regulators in the soil was developed along with the concentration of crops, the use of machine systems, high-quality seeds and intensive cultivation technology for individual crops. We did not resign ourselves to the low quality of our land. Today most of it has been improved and a drying and moisture supply system has been put in operation on 1,000 hectares (one-seventh of our farmland).

The April CPSU Central Committee Plenum inspired us to undertake a serious study of the level of development we had reached and what to do to improve it further. We undertook an intensive study of new developments used in domestic and foreign farms. We studied the works of scientists. We tried to determine what it is that makes success in agriculture possible at different stages and how it should develop further. It turned out that we could much more from what had made agricultural production successful in the 1950s and 1960s, such as comprehensive mechanization, specialized breeds, which are among the most important problems, and so on. Naturally, today priority is given to the accelerated application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. As we understand it, in our case this means finding a way of surmounting the lagging and reach the 1990s on step with global developments, in step with the future. That is why we invest a broader meaning in the concept of "agricultural production," bearing in mind the entire agroindustrial cycle: preparations, the production process itself and the storing, processing and marketing of finished products.

It was on this basis that we formulated our program for development until the year 2000. In crop growing the main attention is paid to the potato crop: we plan the development of a strain which would guarantee high yields and would be suitable for processing, so that excellent quality table-grade potatoes will be the end product (a modern enterprise for such processing is already in operation in Adazhi). The program for seed production should be such as to ensure balanced seed rations so that milk production, in particular, reach 6,000 kgs per cow by 1990 and 8,000 kgs by the year 2000 (the kolkhoz has its 6,000 club, whose members have already reached that level). The milk production program involves raising dairy cattle with embryo transplants which is at its early development stage (we started this last year). We have planned programs for the production of meat and processing and marketing the produce, perfecting the management and economic mechanism and ensuring exports (in particular, we are planning the development of joint international production facilities). In turn, this will be assisted by quality programs, auxiliary production facilities, perfecting agricultural machines and equipment and the production of construction materials.

Such is the standard which Adazhi intends to reach. Understandably, this is possible only by establishing close ties with science. However, it is precisely thus that the farm has been working for many years and this too has become a life standard.

In discussing the development and problems of his sector, V. Levius, deputy chairman in charge of livestock, noted the following:

Indeed, we have achieved a great deal. I must say, however, that this was the result of the persistent effort of a large collective and many years of work by our scientists, above all those who deal with problems of animal husbandry, and geneticists with whom we work closely.

From the statement by D. Pakalns, deputy chairman in charge of scientific affairs:

We began to use the achievements of scientific and technical progress starting with the 10th 5-Year Plan. We have developed steady and are developing temporary relations with scientific research institutes in our republic and in Belorussia and the Ukraine, with the VASKHNIL system and with other all-union institutes, covering a variety of topics in all agricultural sectors. How are such reciprocal relations structured? Sometimes on the basis of direct contracts, if the institute is working on a kolkhoz assignment (for example, the Estonian Scientific Research Farming and Reclamation Institute supplies us with improved starting stock for potatoes of the same size, of precisely the varieties and in the amounts needed by the kolkhoz). If scientists want to test their work on a broader scale we work together, on the basis of scientific and technical cooperation, allowing them to use our fields, seeds, and animal herds, the necessary equipment, and so on. This method is particularly important in ensuring a reliable production assessment of scientific development: Adazhi becomes something like a testing ground. A positive rating becomes the base for the subsequent full adaptation of the innovation and its inclusion as a mandatory element in production technology. Starting with the 11th 5-year period, the kolkhoz has been operating a service for scientific and technical information. It is of interest to us for such information to be tested in the various economic sectors. Today Adazhi has a scientific center.

Naturally, the question of the level of training of a kolkhoz specialist arises. Following are figures cited by I. Penelis, deputy chairman in charge of personnel: Today we have 183 specialists at work, including 7 candidates of sciences, 112 people with higher training and 48 with secondary specialized training (some of them are students by correspondence).

Naturally, it is not simply a matter of who studied what, when and where. The very atmosphere of quest which has been developed at the farm allows everyone realistically to assess his knowledge and to become part of the collective search in order not to stop, not to slow down. This is encouraged also by the economic structure of Adazhi. It proceeds from the fact that the achievements of scientific and technical progress can be utilized more successfully if handled by knowledgeable specialists who, however, are given the necessary rights to do so. Today's kolkhoz is a combination of eight related or interdependent associations of services and sectors known as microstructures (long-term programs for their type of specialization have been drawn up). Each microstructure is headed by a specialist, who is a deputy chairman and who can properly analyze unusual situations and does not avoid handling new problems. Whenever possible, he is relieved from day-to-day management and thereby given greater opportunities for seeking and implementing new developments, doing his own creative work and strengthening ties with science. This is his main obligation.

Back in Moscow, from our trip to Adazhi, we were asked two questions which, I believe, are directly related to this discussion. We were asked: "If the present chairman would leave Adazhi could the kolkhoz go on with its work?" The second question was "if the Adazhi chairman, together with his specialists, would move to another farm, would they be able to do the same type of work?" In our view, a positive answer can be given to both questions. It is likely and even unquestionable that a great deal of what is being done in Adazhi comes from the chairman and his initiative, energy and knowledge. His principal merit, however, is that he was not simply able to preserve and consolidate the spirit of creativity inherent in this farm and find good specialists but that he was able to set up a collective of like-minded people, who share his ideas and aims.

Naturally, this does not apply to the specialists only. The kolkhoz employs more than 4,000 people, ranging from machine milker to baker. What they all have in common is discipline, labor standards and high degree of professionalism. Essentially, the kolkhoz trains its own cadres virtually (let no one smile at this) from kindergarten. It was with its own forces and funds that the kindergarten was designed, built, equipped and thus was a dream implemented. One standard creates another and people were unwilling for a farm which had risen above the average standards to have an ordinary kindergarten. Separate premises were contemplated for various groups and medical offices, swimming pools and a winter garden, and premises for singing and dancing, but also classes for teaching the elements of labor. For the fourth consecutive year the Adazhi Kolkhoz members are justifiably proud of their kindergarten and spare no funds on its upkeep, for they can see what the children get here.

It was after the roundtable meeting that during a conversation the chairman noted: "When the children step up and invite the parents, I look at the faces of our kolkhoz members and think that at that moment they can do anything...."

They are taking a new step: building a school for 1,300 students, again "with inspiration," and even with its own observatory. In their view, children raised in such a kindergarten deserve the same quality school. The first part of the school is already in operation and during the 5-year period the entire complex will be commissioned.

From the statement by Ya. Tikmers, Adazhi secondary school principal:

We are an institution under the republic's Ministry of Education but I must say that our collective believes that, to a certain extent, we are a kolkhoz structural unit. We work very closely with the kolkhoz in solving the main problems: the first 6 years of schooling, the vocational training of the children and the raising of the young generation. As an educator, I find it very pleasing to note that in Adazhi we have created, if one may say so, the most positive image of the kolkhoz member, which is of great help in the educational process. The children--the very young and the adolescents--would like, in their majority, to become kolkhoz members or specialists in their farm and willingly master skills. What can we offer them? Officially, based on salaries, which are those of a foreman, a school can offer one subject to a boy and another to a girl, and that is all. The kolkhoz, however, offers 15

choices; the students have selected 10 of them and are being trained in those areas. If a student wants to be a machine operator, mechanizer, educator, cook, gardener, trade worker, and so on, and even if a single student would express such a wish, he would be given corresponding training. The social instruction of the kolkhoz and the wish of the adolescent are combined. We coordinate programs, the farm assigns its specialists and provides premises. It is thus that we solve problems related to socially useful labor. From the educational viewpoint this is ideal. I was asked here if people with such training have a guaranteed job. They do. The social instruction is based on the real needs of the kolkhoz with the main emphasis being on future skills. In building a project the farm trains its personnel for it in advance.

This applies to other schools as well. Here is another characteristic figure: today Adazhi is supporting 112 scholarship students in VUZs, secondary specialized schools and vocational-technical schools.

The question is sometimes asked whether the Adazhi experiment involves the social area. The answer is simple: this is the base of all the work done in the kolkhoz. Today the party invariably emphasizes that science-intensive and highly technological work cannot exist and develop without a corresponding cultural infrastructure, any more than without the further improvement of labor standards and the way of life.

Even when the aspiration to live well was considered a vestige of the past, Adazhi built housing (50 to 60 apartment units are completed here every year), and people were well paid (by the end of the 9th 5-year period the average monthly kolkhoz wage was 186 rubles; at the beginning of the 12th, it was 286); payments from social funds kept increasing (every year 1.5 million rubles are appropriated for social needs). The kolkhoz has a polyclinic, a culture house, a sports complex, cafeterias, stores, a bakery, etc. At the roundtable meeting a great deal was said about problems related to concern for the individuals, something which we shall discuss further.

Something else was discussed as well: the frequency with which people are being criticized and misunderstood and irritated officials. One of the participants in the roundtable meeting made himself a note: "Economic well-being is not a shame but a desired condition for any farm." Clearly, he wanted to remember to mention this in his address.

So, what wrong was done?

#### Weak and Strong

Understandably, the conditions under which Adazhi operates may appear ideal to farms which still have no roads, where there is no one to milk the cows and no one to attend even an ordinary school, even if there is a school. As we know, many such farms exist. The experience of the strong is frequently set aside, for the weak believes that this is not for him. Furthermore, honestly, the attitude toward the frontranker is not always sympathetic. It seems to the weak that the strong lives at his expense (this is frequently suggested to it "from above," particularly when it is a question of all kinds of shortages). This problem does exist, however hard we may sometimes try to make it seem

less serious. It is no accident that, one way or another, it frequently arose during the roundtable meeting.

Many delegations visit Adazhi--individuals as well as entire groups. The people here have already learned to distinguish between those who truly come to gain experience and the "tourists" (as they are known in the kolkhoz). Unfortunately, most visitors are "tourists." The people see what has been done but many of them consider it inaccessible to them, and its quality and, frequently, its neatness, which leads them to speak of "special conditions." Then they return "from the 21st century" (as they themselves sometimes say) to their own "down to earth" problems.

But the people of Adazhi know what created such "special conditions." In the course of the discussions it was repeatedly emphasized that the kolkhoz had developed by its own efforts. Here as well, in the past, workers and sailors came to help with the harvest and it was the difficulties of the farm which led to the fact that today it has a "sponsor"--the Theater imeni Raynis, which comes to perform here. This kolkhoz as well did not escape the "diktat:" for example, it had to build its "Dalderi" hog-breeding complex although neither the people nor calculations made this desirable (it could not be coordinated properly with industrial poultry farming); nonetheless, the kolkhoz members were able to make both sectors work efficiently. The farm had to go through its "barn" period, when anything available had to suit the concept of innovation (in order not to fall behind innovation!), without a follow-up consisting of creating normal conditions for the work of the new sector. Here scientific methods are used in the application of chemical fertilizers but the "old system" is also used of applying up to 25 tons of manure per hectare. Adazhi always had something to show to others and to describe to others but also always highly valued the experience of others: for 20 years the kolkhoz cooperated with the collective of the Bolshevik Poultry Breeding Farm in Leningrad Oblast; it maintained contacts and business relations with many farms in Belorussia, the Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania, the Moscow area, and cooperative farms in Hungary and Czechoslovakia....

Naturally, today's kolkhoz visitors realize that the success of this farm comes not from some kind of special method but from the comprehensive solution of interrelated problems, and the ability to be one step ahead and to anticipate the next step.

Under contemporary conditions, the conditions of restructuring, great attention is paid to combining technological progress with the economic mechanism, for it is only such a combination that can yield significant improvements in labor productivity. Naturally, this has already become the practice of Adazhi.

From the statement by Ya. Aboltin, deputy chairman in charge of economic affairs:

We began to apply the principles of internal cost accounting by the end of the 9th 5-Year Plan (let us recall that at that time the kolkhoz was undergoing intensive technological restructuring--editor). Having become traditional, cost accounting has been steadily developed and perfected. Today it covers

virtually all kolkhoz subdivisions--169 of them. Their relations are structured on services based on cost accounting.

No proper cost accounting is possible without efficiency. Our task is to determine the output and economic achievements of each shop and enterprise based on daily results. This is stipulated in our "Intrafarm Economic Rules" (observed by the kolkhoz as a whole and by each individual section), and ensured by the use of computers. Today computers are used directly by more than 30 cost accounting units and automated control systems.

A line of decentralization and expansion of the rights of subdivisions is observed in management and, within them, of increasing the rights of individual production facilities and production workers.

Unquestionably, the success of the collective's economic activities is largely related to the extent of the economic contribution of every one of its members to the common project. We believe that this will be helped by the newly formulated labor wage system, above all the labor of managers and specialists. What is new here is that this labor will be paid not simply according to tables of organization—a fixed salary—but on the principle of the "average enterprise wage multiplied by the manager's coefficient," i.e., it will be based on efficient management skills.

This coefficient is established by the kolkhoz's board when a new enterprise manager is hired. The coefficient for the other specialists is a percentage of his wages. A system of economic responsibility is created for the results, with a steady feedback and an anti-outlay mechanism: any inefficient expenditure hits the pocketbook. The salaries of deputy chairmen, heads of microstructures, and leading specialists are structured somewhat differently but also in accordance with end results. The board has set up a scientific and technical council which assesses on a quarterly basis the work of every specialist based on a 5-point system and five factors related to the application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in his sector, efficient management, economic results, ensuring the development and implementation of long-term programs, and concern for members of one's collective and solving their social problems. Such an assessment will determine not only the salary but also the view on the training and possibilities of the specialist and his suitability for the position he holds.

Nonetheless, our experience proves that shortcomings in implementing the principle of material incentive cannot be eliminated with partial and sporadic undertakings. We must radically restructure all the elements of the wage system and the main requirement in this reform must be the fact that any increase in wage or individual earnings must be earned. That is why in converting the subdivisions to a cost accounting system, gross output becomes the prime evaluation indicator and, respectively, source of subdivision funds.

The results of such restructuring are confirmed by actual facts. An example of this was provided by V. Purinsh, manager of the construction microstructure:

Two years ago we changed the wage system for engineering and technical personnel. Whereas in the past, for example, a worker organizer would be paid 200-220 rubles monthly, today he is paid 140. The balance must be earned. This depends directly on the quantity and quality of what has been accomplished in his sector. Our best worker organizers, who showed good results last year good results ended by earning up to 560 rubles monthly. The volume of work over the year increased by 1 million rubles.

Arriving in Adazhi, one can really see how difficult it is to maintain the style and pace set in this strong farm. A person must indeed work with total dedication. The strictest punishment which could be imposed on a person here is to be dismissed from the kolkhoz. In its time, a youth collective came to work at the now familiar Brilyanti dairy complex. Today, the collective is sometimes blamed for not attracting young people; they are those same people, only "somewhat older" by 10 years. Why is it that the people care for their difficult jobs? But also why should we assume that people may be attracted by easy, "careless" work, as they say here? If the work is interesting, life is interesting. Many are those aware of this interconnection.

The meaning which is invested here in the concept of "human factor" can be clearly traced in the remarks of the Adazhi chairman, as he conducted the roundtable discussions, and the statements made by its participants, such as D. Popovs, party committee secretary, Ya. Yansons, trade union committee chairman, O. Kruze, manager of the social problems microstructure, I. Bukin, mechanizer, and others (although these words were used infrequently, to prevent their devaluation).

It is not simply a question of funds appropriated for social purposes, for here the economy has never been developed at the expense of the individual. The strength of the collective is determined above all by its reliance on reason and a feeling of responsibility. It is important, the people in the kolkhoz believe, to awaken in everyone his capabilities and to assert his dignity. What are the factors which lead to this, which are particularly noteworthy? They are the living and working conditions of the people; material incentive; possibility of self-advancement; joy in the work, something which is difficult to understand, taken out of context. The efforts are aimed at making this maximally possible.

The purpose of the decentralization conducted in the farm is to provide "scope for enterprise," and therefore to provide greater opportunities for the self-realization by every kolkhoz member. Characteristically, last year more than 130 rationalization suggestions were submitted in Adazhi, the economic results of the application of which was 630,000 rubles. Sixty-three of the 102 rationalization authors were rank-and-file workers. Nonetheless, properly aware of the fact that scientific and technical progress is inconceivable without the creative work of specialists, as we already noted, the farm tries to identify and enhance their role and degree of responsibility, confirming with its entire practice that the formulation of ideas is the most important type of production.

It take more than appropriating funds for social needs, even in the millions. What is important is for such money not to be viewed as charity. The Adazhi



attitude is that these are millions earned by working. Funds must be spent intelligently and it is only those who have earned them who have the right to decide about how to use them. The kolkhoz has 40 production councils in charge of problems related to the various aspects of activities of labor collectives. In 1979 it adopted the "Regulation on Social Benefits to Kolkhoz Members," which has been expanded since then with every passing year. Money is spent on additions to pensions, aid to children's education, recreation, medical treatment, and development of culture and sports. However, the decision was also be made of closing down the motorball section, which is prestigious and brings prizes but is turning into a profession for some people; it was deemed more expedient to use the money for medical services which benefit all.

Some decisions may be quite surprising. Does, for example, the dairy complex need a winter garden or clothing for the workers, custom-made by a fashion shop? Naturally, one could (some would say, must) do without. However, here the use of money for keeping the good mood of the people has never been considered a waste. Nothing new and lively can be created without a positive charge.

If you go into the store in the Adazhi settlement you will see on your right a glass partition, behind which young kolkhoz members are working on a strange automatic line which bakes "French bread," the loaves of which are neatly stacked on the shelf. The new equipment, white smocks and satisfied expressions of the young makes us realize how pleased they are to deal with such an unusual and agreeable matter which pleases everyone. Could this be precisely what "joy in the work" means?...

We have become accustomed to the expression "as good as in town." Here the people would like things to be better than in town.

Could the collective of a strong kolkhoz spend the money it has earned as it wishes, thus triggering a new incentive for even higher production indicators? For the time being, this aspiration is greatly restrained, among others by public opinion.

Does the strong live at the expense of the weak? Today the farms in this republic are classified into four groups. The strongest are in the first group and the highest prices for output, in the fourth. As though jokingly, an Adazhi specialist scolded Hero of Socialist Labor E. Mitrike, a noted kolkhoz milkmaid, for the fact that the milk which she produces in 1 year makes the farm lose 40,000 rubles (that is precisely the amount that the kolkhoz could earn additionally for the same milk had it been classified as weak). But she is not the only one: there are 54 milkmaids.

The republic has received personal computers. The decision was made to distribute them fairly, giving some not only to Adazhi but to others as well. Adazhi, where a corresponding software has been developed, where people know algorithms, and so on, needs this equipment (a certain amount) in order to "round up" its computer network. For the time being, others need computer as much as a lump of iron...

These are only two of the examples cited by the roundtable participants in the matter of "weak and strong," which is by no means simple and which demands particular study. Obviously, this is not merely a question of means. In each specific case there must be an optimal production structure and a specific cadre structure formulated precisely on the basis of existing circumstances. The real problem is the efficient spreading and use of new developments. This is the key which would enable many others to see their future.

"We must change the way of considering progressive experience," A. Kauls, Adazhi chairman, emphasized. "It is wrong and harmful to say that a lagging kolkhoz is far behind the leader. We must seek jointly the ways and means of how to share and apply advanced experience, and how to achieve success not through evolution, which is the long way, but through acceleration."

What is Adazhi's suggestion? In the past, when the kolkhoz undertook seriously to grow its "cucumbers" in a "frame," enthused farmers from the Moscow and Volga areas, from the Ukraine, Belorussia and Kazakhstan sought its experience. To everyone the kolkhoz gave its own drawings and seeds and its specialists went to help their colleagues. Now Adazhi suggests setting up (essentially with of its own funds) of a firm base for the development, mastery and further dissemination of industrial production systems. What specifically does this imply?

Here is once again D. Pakalns, deputy chairman for scientific affairs:

The production system is one of the ways for the further intensification of agriculture. It means cooperation among a number of independent farms in the production of specific commodities applying the latest joint experience. It is suggested that the organizer of the system, our kolkhoz in this case, assume the obligation of developing for the selected sector an efficient and economical technology, based on modern equipment. It will adapt it to local conditions and share it with its partners. In order to implement this technology, the leading farm will participate in the purchasing of seeds of the necessary strains, purebred livestock, equipment, spare parts, chemicals, and chemical fertilizers, and will systematically give advise on the application of new technological ways and means. It will be concerned with training specialists for partner-farms and with the systematic enhancement of their skills. It will participate in developing complete machine sets for various production operations, processing and marketing.

Currently it is only the economically strong farms which have reached a certain technical and intellectual standard that seriously concern themselves with the application of scientific achievements. As part of their production system, after tests at the kolkhoz center, in their advanced model they become accessible to all farms, regardless of their economic potential. Naturally, this could yield tangible results expressed in higher yields, milk output, and so on. The incentive here is double: the level of production and profitability for all participants in the system improve; at the same time, the developer sells to others his technological, production and organizational experience. He organizes all production units of a specific sector against compensation on mutually profitable conditions, based on cost accounting and reciprocal responsibility for end work results.

In order to utilize all opportunities offered by production systems, it is important, naturally, to make use of the most advanced means of production at all stages in the technological process. On the other hand, the most advanced technological elements are used on the same technical level, i.e., lead to the development of "industrial organization."

Unlike production systems, where horizontal integration is ascribed prime significance, i.e., the involvement of the greatest possible number of participants, covering the greatest possible area, in our systems we also contemplate vertical integration--the growing, processing and marketing of output (in particular, potato growing and processing).

Such integrated economic activities can, in our view, enhance the level of organization in agriculture, increase the economical use of materials and energy per unit of output and improve labor productivity. Being interconnected within a single system, all of its participants are, unquestionably, interested in the more efficient utilization and improvement of means of production, which contributes to the greater purposefulness of capital investments, expenditures on technology consistent with volumes of output, and so on. For example, the building of potato storage beans in the immediate vicinity of the processing plant in our kolkhoz saves for other members in the system the cost of building similar facilities. In making use of high-level technology, we must make realistic use of the technology of the foreign market (for example, we learned embryo transplants from Slusovice, the unified Czechoslovak Agricultural Cooperative).

The main concern of the organizer of the system is to ensure the steady development of technology and to create conditions for its successful application. For that reason he comprehensively cooperates with scientific research institutions on problems of crop growing, livestock breeding, soil cultivation, use of chemical fertilizers, plant protection, animal nutrition, veterinary care and improving machines, equipment and all structural elements of the technology and on solving a variety of economic problems. It is thus that the leading farm becomes an intermediary between science and production (it is precisely in this area that our losses are the highest), a kind of center for a voluntary association, organized on an economic basis, for the accelerated application of scientific and technical progress.

We do not claim that this is the only right way but are confident that it is the realistic one.

It is thus that the idea of the agrofirma developed. It was repeatedly discussed by the kolkhoz members who eventually reached the conclusion that it would be able to give a new impetus to the farm. By decision of the gosagroproms of both the republic and the country, last September Adazhi became a kolkhoz-agrofirma whose motto is "Loyalty to the Land and Duty."

#### The Agrofirma as a Concept

All long-term development programs and the entire complex mechanism of the future agrofirma were developed by the kolkhoz specialists together with scientists from the Latvian Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics. In

inviting the next roundtable speaker to take the floor, jokingly the kolkhoz chairman said: "We give the floor to Academician Comrade Kalninsh, one of the co-authors of all of these matters. If matters in the agrofirms fail to work out, all of you will know precisely who is to blame." Let us consider his address in order better to understand the essence of the concept.

From the address by A. Kalninsh, member of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences:

Why did such new economic formations as agrofirms, including Adazhi, appear?

The possibility of developing them arose on the basis of the large agricultural enterprises which acquire significant production potential (strong capacities for building and installing equipment, technical facilities, such as automotive transportation, tractors, and so on, and a machine repair base, a developed social infrastructure, and highly skilled specialists and workers). The production potential of the individual farms exceeded the framework of their area of activities. Naturally, this is not to say that the economically strong kolkhozes and sovkhoses have exhausted all of their possibilities in agricultural production itself. Equally topical in this case is to identify further opportunities for crop increases and for reducing the cost of output in crop growing and animal husbandry.

Where can such opportunities be applied? Considering this on the basis of the experience of the Adazhi Agrofirm, we can say that it would be realistic on its basis to develop and master industrial technologies and production systems (which were already mentioned), and to spread them among other enterprises with a view to substantially upgrading labor productivity. This can be accomplished for the various types of crop growing and animal husbandry output (the agrofirm has now undertaken to develop three scientific production systems: for growing potatoes for seed and marketing and their processing; rape production and processing; and reproduction of high-yielding dairy cow herd through transplantation). Industrial technology will be applied to the neighboring farms on the basis of interfarm cooperation, so that in the final account production costs may drop and, without increasing prices, earn a higher income. A considerable share of this output can be purchased by the agrofirm from the partner farms for further processing using its own capacities.

The second type of activity of the agrofirm would be to use its potential in substantially adding to the facilities for commodity processing and marketing and making a specific contribution to surmounting disproportions between the volume of agricultural output and capacities for its storage and processing. Therefore, within a single economic structure both phases will be integrated--the cultivation of produce (including the possibility of purchasing it from other farms) and processing. Fears which were expressed that such processing would hinder in this area the application of scientific and technical progress are groundless. The production-technical condition of a number of processing enterprises, at the time when they were managed by the specialized ministries (until the entire APK system was reorganized) was at a rather low level. It is very pleasing, therefore, that the republic's leadership supported this trend without waiting for the new 5-year period, in order, after years of new

capital investments, to try to eliminate the lag in the processing industry. The creation of agrofirms would enable us to eliminate such disproportions in the immediate future. The agrofirms will be able to make use of the practical experience of minor aspects and capacities for the production of individual types of agricultural commodities, which are considered presently optimal and ensure high-labor productivity and efficiency. As worldwide practical experience indicates, scientific and technical progress enables us to develop such highly productive small processing capacities.

Specifically, the practical implementation of this development in production integration and commodity processing could yield a variety of benefits:

Comprehensive processing of all agricultural raw materials, using local waste for feed purposes, and conversion to wasteless technology;

Increasing possibilities of efficient processing of substandard agricultural commodities, zootechnical and industrial waste and surplus produce purchased from the population;

Perfecting production technology on the basis of contemporary industrial methods, using precisely the one needed for the specific type of finished product for each specific period;

Lowering transport outlays in delivering raw materials to major processing combines and counterdeliveries of agricultural commodities for local consumption;

Ensuring more even year-round employment of kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers, creating possibilities of maneuvering the manpower, broadening the professional choices for young people, which contributes to cadre stabilization;

Substantially improving food supplies in the necessary varieties (meat, dairy products, and so on) to the rural population;

Simplifying economic relations among agricultural enterprises and organizations, on the one hand, and processing enterprises, on the other.

The conduct of this experiment based on farms-agrofirms will enable us to find the most efficient means for the functioning of a relatively locally situated agroindustrial production-economic complex, based on contemporary equipment and technology, operating under the conditions of full self-support, with extensive opportunities for cooperation and integration in the production, processing and marketing of agricultural commodities.

We should consider as an essentially new development the fact that in this case there will be a combination between the principles of territorial integration (by involving several farms in the use of industrial production systems) with virtual integration within the framework of a single economic structure: the kolkhoz-agrofirm and the sovkhos-agrofirm (procurement, storing and processing into finished products of agricultural raw materials produced by the farm-agrofirm and the partner-farms in such cooperation).

The Adazhi Agrofirma is also characterized by the fact that here industry has been developed. We believe that it would be expedient for the press to speak out more firmly in favor of this development for, to begin with, industrial activities enable us to improve the sex and age structure in the countryside, since the percentage of boys is relatively higher than that of girls. By developing an enterprise which could employ female labor and by developing the social infrastructure such disproportions could be reduced. Second, during the peak season it would be entirely realistic temporarily to halt the work of industrial subdivisions and to assign people to field work without resorting to the help of urban residents. Third, in some cases better use could be made of local raw materials (production of construction materials, and so on). Fourth, many shops can manufacture tools and attachments for the mechanization of agricultural operations, the production of which has still not been mastered by industry. Some machinery is already being produced here, in Adazhi.

The agrofirma is also a testing ground in which experience is gained in developing the economic mechanism under the conditions of a full agroindustrial cycle within the individual enterprise engaged in the production of goods ready for consumption. A number of new developments must be applied in the activities of the agrofirma.

Thus, it would be expedient to allow in them the standardization of economic management systems between enterprises and their organizations, above all among agricultural and processing enterprises. This applies to agrofirms based on the state form of ownership, such as the Agrofirma imeni XXV Syezda KPSS. In the case of Adazhi no such problem arises.

It will be necessary to allow within the agrofirma the standardization of an economic management system between cooperative and state enterprises (as is the case, for example, with the Krasnyy Oktyabr and Uzvara Agrofirms, which are based on kolkhozes).

More flexible and efficient work is possible if the agrofirma is given the status of a cooperative farm organization. In this case, however, all types of APK enterprises and organizations, including cooperative agrofirms, must be granted equal rights in price setting (or in conditions for price setting), budget financing (subsidies), taxation, and the creation of economic conditions for production and marketing and material and technical procurements. Unquestionably, we must retain budget subsidies for the disparity between purchase prices of agricultural commodities (milk, cattle, poultry, starch, etc.) and marketing prices which are set on the basis of the low level of state retail prices of processed commodities.

It is important to retain budget subsidies also in the areas of land reclamation, liming, peat application, upkeep of children's preschool institutions and some other elements of the social infrastructure. It would be expedient in the future to test the system of mixed financing--state-budget and agrofirma funds. This will increase the interest of the future users of reclamation systems, large animal breeding complexes, and so on, in the better and more efficient use of state allocations. Enterprise resources could be used as an additional source also in the allocation of standard budget

appropriations for specific needs (such as the development of the social infrastructure).

It would be expedient gradually to convert to reducing centralized indicators and plan only the volumes of output of finished products. It would be expedient also to formulate production and marketing plans locally, by the agricultural enterprises and agrofirms.

A more advanced and simpler system of relations with the budget must be pursued while, at the same time, we solve the problem of equalizing objective farming conditions. After the payment of taxes and other regulated withholdings for the budget, the enterprise or agrofirm should have the right to handle independently the residual part of its gross income and to set up an overall wage fund (including bonus funds), and intrafarm social and other accumulation funds.

In our view, it is important to support the experiment in the development of agrofirms and quickly open the way to the efficient and new developments offered by farm collectives.

[Editorial note] How is the experiment proceeding? What kind of problems arise in this connection and what are their contemplated solutions? This will be discussed in the next installment.

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## POLITICAL GUIDANCE: DEGREES OF EFFECTIVENESS

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[Interview granted by Yuriy Alekseyevich Manayenkov, first secretary of the Lipetsk CPSU Obkom, conducted by KOMMUNIST Correspondent N. Tyurin]

[Text] The January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which set the party and every party member a number of interrelated tasks in the area of cadre policy, formulated the main objective: to enhance the human factor, to make it decisive in restructuring. The plenum's materials contain a specific program for involving the working people in the constructive processes through the extensive development of socialist democracy. Clearly, this will demand of the party committees not only increased efforts in traditional and customary work methods. The post-April period in the life of the party and our entire society created prerequisites for radical changes in the style of activities of party committees and, above all, in the intensification of their role as agencies for political guidance, by abandoning extraneous functions. This task is as topical as it is difficult, for the hindrance mechanism was used and, here and there, still is, in party work; not everyone has fully realized and felt the nature of the revolutionary changes which have begun in the country. How is the restructuring developing in the oblast's party committees? What are its most outstanding and typical features? These were the questions with which journal correspondent N. Tyurin began his talk with Yuriy Alekseyevich Manayenkov, first secretary of the Lipetsk CPSU Obkom.

[Answer] Let me begin with an example which, in my view, visibly reveals a great deal of what is the essence and meaning of present reality. Last year the drought struck several rayons in the oblast, including Dobrinskiy, the result of the work of which tangibly influence the indicators of the oblast agrocomplex. What is the base for the efficiency and the supportive yet exigent style of relations within labor collectives, which is asserting itself in Dobrinskiy Rayon? Above all, it is the result of the activities of the party raykom and the implementation of its views. Aleksandr Filippovich Davydov, its first secretary, has been on the job less than 2 years. He may seem cold but he is a person with an unusual talent for drawing people to himself and accurately determining their possibilities. I believe that it is largely to his credit that the rayon party committee amended its obsolete custom of controlling everything and everyone with the help of reports and long conferences, essentially relying on directives and administrative



pressure. A turn to the people and to reality led to quick changes in the rayon's mood.

I anticipate the objection: but what is unusual about it, have we not enough skilled party workers and strong farms which can successfully counter weather anomalies. The point is, precisely, that 2 years ago all raykom party secretaries and the chairman of the rayon executive committee had to be relieved from their positions all at the same time, and that production indicators here had dropped to a point which is justifiably described by the people as a collapse. Understandably, a socioeconomic organism, which had been steadily functioning only 7 years ago, did not become stricken with serious ills overnight. Once again, here the prime reason was the party raykom and its former First Secretary Fedorov, who has now been expelled from CPSU ranks. Surreptitiously, negative features accumulated in his behavior and work style. He had set up a circle of yes-men around him, who were ready to violate any principle for the sake of personal advantages. Naturally, "followers" were found outside the raykom, in various rayon organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The degeneracy of Fedorov and his retinue ended with a natural occurrence which, to me, seems entirely normal: it resembled the case of people who would go to the funeral of a friend who had died of an overdose of alcohol and would then stand honor guard, including the members of the raykom buro, headed by the first secretary.

A.F. Davydov's legacy was not an easy one. Everything had to be done all at once and, above all, the people's faith in justice and in the firmness and viability of our ideals had to be enhanced and straightened out. Naturally, the efforts of the new party raykom buro were combined with the much more profound and broad changes which had been initiated after the April Central Committee Plenum. It was precisely this combination that determined the results: by no means have all problems in Dobrinskiy Rayon been solved but matters there have obviously improved. We frequently promoted A.F. Davydov, who only 2 years ago was "trapped" by his profession and with his scientific work, for which reason he was not contemplating any drastic change in his career, to the position of head of the organizational-party work department, of the CPSU obkom. Could we have been too hasty? I hope that we have not. Furthermore, such promotions, it seems to me, are an indication of one of the characteristic features of our time: those whose entire preceding life has prepared them for the current stage in the life of the party and the country now stand at the cutting edge of restructuring and assume its main burden.

[Question] Yuriy Alekseyevich, at a recent plenum of the Lipetsk Party Obkom, which considered the tasks of the oblast's communists in the areas of restructuring and cadre policy, the following fact was brought up: in recent years the number of items considered by the obkom buro has been reduced by one-half. At the same time, the plenum noted an increase in positive socioeconomic developments. Is there a connection between these two features?

[Answer] I believe that there is, a most direct one at that. The essence of the overwhelming majority of contemporary problems in the economy and the social infrastructure consists not of organizational or technical aspects, although they could be and frequently are exceptionally important. Almost always the edge of a problem points not at any particular aspect of the plan

but at the specific person responsible for it, and at the combination of his moral-political and practical qualities. Today we are trying to concentrate not on "general" assignments but on the people in charge of their implementation. The obkom buro considers less the specific nature of a sector, enterprise or rayon than the way in which the cadres meet requirements which are the same for everyone. This approach enables us to see any situation in all areas not as statistically frozen in a report but as a flexible system of real actions on the part of those who make things move in their assigned sector through their knowledge, ideological convictions and willpower.

It is true that the oblast's national economic complex has succeeded in taking the first steps in restructuring. The tasks for the volume of industrial output, labor productivity and profits were met for 1986. The collectives of construction and construction and installation subdivisions fulfilled their plans for commissioning basic assets, including housing and sociocultural projects. In the agrarian sector, gross output totaled 1.4 billion rubles, or 19 percent above the average annual level achieved during the preceding 5 years. Compared with 1985, 1986 labor productivity was 13 percent higher and the level of profitability averaged 31 percent. The situation in transportation, trade and consumer services, public education and health care improved somewhat. The basic indicators plan for the first 5 months of this year was fulfilled.

However, if we look at the state of affairs in the oblast not as compared with yesterday but from as what should be, by no means has a great deal been accomplished. The obstruction mechanism has not been eliminated yet and in some areas has not even been seriously affected. If we speak of party committees, few of them eliminated obsolete stereotypes of thinking and work methods. I believe that this precisely is the reason, for example, for the fact that last year the plan for the sale of vegetables to the state was not fulfilled. The study indicated that the good weather conditions of past few years had hypnotized some managers at the oblast agroindustrial committee, the Lipetskagroploodovoshchprom Association and the vegetable growing farms and their party committees. In this case specific organizational and educational work, conducted in the spirit of the time, had been abandoned and a mood of contemplation and rosy hopes to the effect that they will be lucky with the weather in the future as well had intensified. However, this did not happen.

The party obkom buro provided a strict party assessment of this fact and the guilty individuals were punished. However, it seems to me, the roots of the problem are deeper than the specific circumstances. Many people are still firmly relying on fast and loud successes, on proving "accomplishments" which, in the majority of cases, cannot withstand any serious economic analysis. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has described ostentation as a most dangerous enemy. We are as yet to uproot this sociopolitical vice. If you think about it you will see that it is no accident at all that claims to victory are heard precisely where the development of favorable factors has been possible. However, in areas of activities which require persistence, a high degree of competence and ability to look into the future, as a rule, successes are much more modest. Last year, for example, the oblast enterprises received 7,600 claims, and losses from factory rejects exceeded 15 million rubles. Today in

industry capital returns do not exceed 89 kopeks of commodity output per ruble of capital assets. In addition to highly productive livestock farms we also have farms in which, for many years, no more than 2,000 kgs of milk per cow have been produced. My only purpose in naming such shortcomings is to emphasize the great number of still unused opportunities for restructuring and for acceleration in literally all areas of work. Unquestionably, the main boosters here must be the party organizations and their committees.

[Question] As we know, at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum and in subsequent party documents requirements concerning party committees as agencies of political management were sharply formulated. It is precisely here, above all, that new ideas and approaches must be generated and accumulated and tactics formulated for interaction among all forces. What are the difficulties encountered by the oblast's party members in this most important area? Are they able clearly to distinguish among the functions of party committees and the authorities in charge of economic management, the soviets and the public organization?

[Answer] Naturally, we must begin by setting for ourselves tasks of renovation and qualitative growth. The party expects not oaths and reassurances but specific actions, real improvements in results wherever the interests of the Soviet working people become affected. That is why restructuring must begin with oneself, with the study of one's own possibilities, errors and omissions and ways of self-improvement. We are trying to make this a leading principle in daily practical work, for the seriousness of our intentions and the ability to combine words with actions are judged by the work of the manager, by the character features of the party leader. It is in this area that the relevance and difficulty of intensifying party-political work by abandoning functions which are extraneous to the party committee, are manifested to their fullest extent.

To the party committee the sum total of economic and sociopolitical life of an area, an enterprise, and so on, has been and remains the target of political guidance. Under present-day circumstances, when the purpose and means of restructuring are the enhancement of the human factor, we must systematically and accurately concentrate on the power of persuasion, on the ability to organize and rally the people, and on creating the type of favorable moral and political atmosphere which will lead to accelerated development. We must learn to guide the attitude of the people concerning one work sector or another, and to motivate labor collectives and leading cadres to engage in actions needed by the entire society. We know that V.I. Lenin defined the concept of "politics" as participation in government affairs, yes, governmental precisely.

In this case a great deal must be surmounted. Major shortcomings, the sum of which made the hindrance mechanism, were characteristic of Lipetsk Oblast as well. Year after year the pace of progress slowed down and difficulties and problems accumulated. Conservative moods predominated in the practices of party guidance, along with inertia and unwillingness to solve imminent socioeconomic problems. The principle of collective work was being violated and the role of party meetings and elective authorities was weakening. A considerable segment of managers-party members remained outside the range of

control and criticism. There were frequent violations of the standards of party life and abuse of official position. It was indicative that along this stagnant front a type of worker who willingly accepted bureaucratic administration, ostentatious practicality and paper-shuffling developed and prospered. This is understandable, for it is precisely such faulty methods that make it possible to avoid the solution of broad long-term problems and to divide the single process of development of economic and other areas of life into "campaigns" which easily fall prey to petty supervision. The appearance of energetic and comprehensive activities and of the participation of the party committee in literally all initiatives of labor collectives was created; a stream of paper flowing downwards and upwards. Such a management style presumed the use of suitable methods, such as abusive criticism of subordinates, criticizing economic managers for trifles, etc. As a whole, however, this did not improve but worsened the situation.

To say that in one fell swoop we surmounted all negative phenomena and everything that had piled up in ideological education, would mean to sin against the truth. Time and a multiple increase in efforts are needed in order truly to strengthen the initiated processes of healing social life and renovating the ways and means of party work. Our main hope rests in the people. I am convinced that quite soon those who became members of party committees in the post-April period will begin to act quite efficiently. However, naturally in this we must not rely on some kind of automatic reaction.

Above all, we try to accustom the party workers to developing a profound understanding of the priority of developing the social area and ensuring the increasing satisfaction of human needs. Systematic meetings between secretaries of the CPSU obkom and party gorkoms and raykoms and labor collectives, and talks with people on the street, in stores and places of recreation, and visits of schools, hospitals and worker and student hostels are becoming the firm rule. I believe that little by little we shall develop this aspect of activities as a vital need for the live and direct study of reality and of the variety of opinions, without which today it would be difficult for a party worker to function.

Comprehensive target programs are being implemented in the oblast, such as "Construction Efficiency and Quality," "Health," and "Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and Services." I do not wish to go on enumerating the specific features of such programs but let me merely emphasize the basics: our task, above all, is to involve in their implementation not only the material resources of enterprises but also the initiative and abilities of every working person. This is no easy matter, whether it is a question of developing a private plot or anything else. To notice and support new developments and something useful on time means, in frequent cases, abandoning existing views. Realizing that something valuable may come not only out of a manager's office is perhaps the very foundation of a democratic style of management.

As to demarcating among the functions of party committees and economic authorities, soviets and public organizations, I think the following: this process will develop the faster and more successfully the more consistently

and daringly we give the suitable rights to those to whom they justifiably belong, for it is no secret that party committees frequently solved problems which were within the competence of, shall we say, the executive committees of local soviets or of trade union and Komsomol committees. In such cases the excuse was the weakness and lack of training of some personnel of soviet or public authorities. However, this state of affairs can be maintained only as a result of the persistent interference of party committees in the affairs of soviets, the Komsomol and the trade unions. A great deal here depends on us. This question is much more difficult to solve in the economic area.

[Question] Are you referring to the imperfection of the planning and economic mechanism?

[Answer] Yes, the faults of this mechanism are still tangibly affecting the cost accounting rights of enterprises and associations and weakening the foundations of fair material incentive. However, here as well we most frequently deal not with abstract categories but specific individuals, their interest and their views. Unfortunately, practical experience indicates that some senior workers in ministries and departments have adopted a formal attitude toward the demands of restructuring. Their actions are forcing party committees on all levels to waste substantial additional efforts somehow to repair the harm caused to labor collectives, unwittingly involving themselves in numerous concerns related to coordinating plans, establishing connections with related enterprises, and so on. What happens in fact is that the party's leadership of the economy which stipulates, above all, defining development priorities and doing extensive work on long-range projects, turns into a rather primitive correction of faults.

Let us consider the following fact: the Gryazi Cultivators Plant, which is part of the Lipetskiy Traktorny Zavod Production Association, produces cultivators with a maximal span of 5.6 meters. Naturally, all parameters of the enterprise's technological lines are consistent with this fact. However, the leadership of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building decided to organize here the production of wide-span equipment up to 21 meters wide. One does not have to be a specialist to understand the situation in which the plant found itself. A number of representative ministerial commissions, which visited the plant, unanimously concluded that the production of wide-span cultivators and other equipment was impossible without a radical restructuring of the production process. The ministry, however, continues to insist on its idea and is planning the building of the second part of the plant. Meanwhile, the necessary resources, in terms of volume and variety of output, for this year's plan have not been secured. The machine builders are losing economic incentive funds, for which reason the mood of the people is depressed.

I must say a few words on the current situation at the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine imeni Yu.V. Andropov where, approximately 1 year ago, together with the editors of KOMMUNIST we held a roundtable discussion on the basic problems of restructuring and acceleration. In the course of that meeting, in my view not only the desire of the metallurgical workers for the organization of full cost accounting but also the objective prerequisite for the actual broadening of rights of enterprises in economic activities and in

developing their social infrastructure were brought to light quite convincingly. Starting with last January, the collective of the NLMK has been operating under conditions of self-support and self-financing. However, practical experience indicates that the stated autonomy was not granted to the combine, as it were. For example, as in the past the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy is issuing to the enterprise dozens of mandatory indicators and more than 600 annual assignments, approved by superior organizations, are included in the quarterly plans of the NLMK. As to that part of the profits left at the disposal of the enterprise according to the regulation, its distribution as well is regulated by the ministry. The labor collective does not have the right to change the size of one fund at the expense of another. Naturally, the combine's party committee has found itself in a very difficult situation. On the eve of the experiment there was a talk that a green light would be given to initiative and enterprise. The actual situation, however, is entirely different.... I believe that the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy should take more profoundly into consideration the political consequences of its decisions.

I would also like to point out features which quite eloquently prove that some senior personnel in the ministry are still in the clutches of the obsolete concept relative to their rights and obligations. Visiting sectorial managers very rarely meet with labor collectives the way they should now--not as members of a presidium or with a thoroughly selected "aktiv," but directly at the work places or the club or else the shop's red corner. I believe that such contacts with people can become standard only as a result of the sincere interest shown by the managers in learning about the moral and political situation first-hand. Furthermore, a direct dialogue between members of the superior administrative levels with workers, engineers and employees is now a necessary means of developing trust and unity of thought. It is regrettable that such a strong reserve for enhancing the human factor is by no means always used....

[Question] Yes, the cost of administrative and bureaucratic way of thinking is high. The new principles of economic management are making their way with difficulty. However, could it be that the current transitional situation, which is frequently woven of mutually exclusive elements create in the party workers some type of illusions to the effect that restructuring is a matter for the center and that the local people must only "wait" and "execute?"

[Answer] Clearly, such moods, which still exist, are deep seated. Let us consider the eloquent fact that last year the oblast's agroindustrial committee issued to its subordinate organizations some 7,000 different documents. What does this mean in practical terms? The Dankov RAPO received more than 3,230 orders and instructions, many of which required an answer. What kind of independence are farm managers to display if everything pertaining to them has already been decided? We sharply criticize the management of the oblast agroprom. At a recent party obkom plenum the need to enhance the level of the party's leadership of APK was emphasized. Objectively speaking, however, there are things which do not depend on the will and consciousness of the personnel on the oblast level, for the paper flow coming from the RSFSR and USSR Gosagroproms continues to grow. In January and February of this year alone the oblast agroindustrial committee

received 1,123 documents from Moscow. Compared with the corresponding period of last year, this is an increase by nearly 400 documents.

However, it would be an unforgivable error to ascribe all errors and shortcomings to factors outside of our competence. The spirit and the letter of the party's decisions made in the post-April period are simple: invest as much energy and persistence as possible in eliminating sluggishness and anything that is obsolete, not "somewhere over there" but in areas directly subject to one's influence. It is obvious that the key objective for the party committees here is the fast and efficient improvement of work with cadres for, as Lenin said, politics is exercised through people. Today the oblast has 55,000 specialists with higher training and 96,000 with secondary specialized training. We have a large number of knowledgeable people with good talent among workers and rank-and-file kolkhoz members. Therefore, all the necessary opportunities exist for discovering and training people profoundly understand contemporary tasks and can implement them. Nonetheless, the faults in cadre work, which were discussed at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, are typical of our own oblast party organization as well.

Let us point out, above all, that the oblast was slow in resolving many urgent cadre problems. This led to the loss among the personnel of a feeling for the new, initiative-oriented and creative approach. Stagnation phenomena and apathy became a widespread feature of many party committees. Another extreme was the frequent replacement of cadres, particularly managers, specialists and secretaries of party organizations in kolkhozes and sovkhoses and in some enterprises. Let me cite a few figures which would prove our omissions in this area and the aspiration of some party committees to conceal their weaknesses behind fictitious activities and quick personnel changes. Between 1981 and 1986 140 sovkhos directors, or 72 percent of the total, and 137 kolkhoz chairmen, or 86 percent, were replaced in the oblast. But here is a more specific example. Since 1985 there have been four directors of the casting equipment plant in Usman. There have been 13 different deputy directors in the past 5 years at the Yelets Plant for Tractor Hydraulic Units, and the chiefs of all shops have been replaced almost every year. Obviously, this situation can no longer be tolerated. It is precisely in cadre policy that the competence and principle-mindedness of party committees must be displayed first of all.

Of late the party obkom buro and the gorkoms and raykoms have been trying to surmount the negative encrustations in cadre work and there have been some noticeable changes. We believe, however, that quality changes are still ahead of us. I would include among them drastically upgrading the educational standards of party and soviet workers. The situation today is not reassuring in the least. Only 32 percent of all gorkom and raykom secretaries have party-political training; 40 percent of chairmen of rural and settlement soviets are not economic specialists and only few of them have party-political training. Are they not our most vital party reserve?

[Question] A few years ago party obkom plenums and the local and central press listed a number of rayons whose party committees were doing poor work, where errors and blunders were increasing, leading workers were becoming corrupt and, as a whole, the situation was becoming extremely bad. This

included Dobrovskiy and Zadonskiy Rayons. Current economic statistics indicate that the farms in these rayons are confidently advancing, that social indicators have improved and that criticisms and complaints reaching the obkom from these areas have become rare. What happened?

[Answer] Something that should have happened much earlier but was delayed for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was the fault of the party obkom which cannot and must not allow in the future the existence of such "deficient" rayons in which the people's money, resources, and human forces and capabilities vanish or are squandered. We firmly strengthened the leadership of CPSU raykoms in Zadonskiy, Dobrovskiy and many other rayons by assigning to them comrades who were not only economically knowledgeable or had good organizational capabilities. We sought people with a sharper feeling of responsibility and high moral qualities. I believe that we were not wrong in appointing Vladimir Fedorovich Toporkov and Leonid Yegorovich Boyakov as respectively first secretaries of the Dobrovskiy and Zadonskiy Party Raykoms and of other party members who are now taking the rayon and city party committees to the leading edge of the struggle for restructuring and acceleration.

Recent party documents have included a great deal of noteworthy and accurate words on the role of this most important unit, which is the closest to the primary party organizations and labor collectives. The tone set in the business and political life of a rayon and its moral climate depend on the skills of CPSU gorkom and raykom personnel and their views on restructuring. Here is a characteristic feature: not one of the oblast rayons which was chronically lagging received resource subsidies of any significance. The entire growth was achieved as a result of the sober and thoughtful analysis of the existing situation, organizational factors, and the enhancement of the best features of the working person. Naturally, the work cannot be based exclusively on such components and substantial material resources are needed in order to achieve fast progress. I am confident, however, that such resources can appear only as a result of the profound and persistent work of party committees as agencies for political management.

What are the customs and stereotypes which we must abandon today? Here, for example, are some typical features in the work of the Terbunskiy CPSU Raykom, which was recently criticized at the party obkom plenum. Its secretaries A.Ya. Rodkin, A.I. Likhikh and V.N. Nerkulova, speak a great deal about restructuring but essentially the specific practices of this raykom do not meet the requirements of our time. Its personnel willingly undertake to deal with current economic and other problems in the course of which, naturally, they duplicate the functions and engage in the petty supervision of soviet and economic authorities. The raykom's style is reflected as in a mirror in the activities of the rayon executive committee and the RAPO. Here as well we have a series of meetings and conferences which generate directives on paper. Meanwhile, the party raykom has neglected cadre work, and liberalism in assessing the results of economic work is flourishing. The rayon has among the lowest crops and its animal husbandry work is poor. Sensing the weakness of the rayon party committee and of many primary party organizations, scoundrels have been abusing their official positions....



Do you see how the style of party work, economic efficiency, moral and political atmosphere and specific actions are tied together? Naturally, we are currently correcting the situation in the Terbunskiy CPSU Raykom and I hope that its buro will become fully aware of its errors. But here is what I keep thinking: the task which was set up at the January Central Committee Plenum of including the people in restructuring and making this vitally important process irreversible is frequently solved extremely slowly, halfway, with a great deal of formalism. One starts analyzing a given situation, whether the election of an economic manager, a rural rally or a session of the local soviet, and one realizes that wherever timidity or a bureaucratic view in granting the necessary rights to labor collectives and the public has been displayed, the position of the party committee has been inevitably equivocal ("on the one hand, it must be done; on the other, one should wait a little"). Let me be understood accurately: our party committees include a number of daring and systematic workers and I believe that as a whole the corps of first secretaries is strong. However, the tradition that the party committee should "decide everything" is quite strong.

[Question] Nonetheless, the experience of the oblast party organization indicates that the democratization process is gathering speed. For example, a form of participation of the working people in the affairs of the collectives, such as the competitive hiring system in, is becoming properly widespread. Nearly 300 people participated in preparations for the recent session held by the oblast soviet of people's deputies. Or else, let us consider the following fact: about 16 party members reported to their comrades last year. In that connection, Yuriy Alekseyevich, let me ask you the final question: How accurate are statistics on the real changes in the life of the oblast and the pace of restructuring?

[Answer] We have many figures and data which highlight one way or another the initiated turn in the awareness and specific actions not of dozens but of thousands upon thousands of people. Essentially, this is a positive dynamics. What we need, however, is a closer than ever study of changes in quality conditions concealed behind dry figures. For example, more than 600 nonparty people hold leading positions in various soviet, economic and public areas in the oblast. Is this too much or too little? What is the optimal level? I shall not attempt to answer the question. What is clear, however, is that this practice must be expanded, for the working people must see that a leading position is an expression of trust in anyone worthy of it rather than a party privilege.

Or let us consider another small figure: ever since we substantially reduced alcohol sales in our stores, in Volovskiy Rayon for example, every year as many as 20 motor vehicles, previously engaged in transporting vodka and wine, have now become available. How should we use them? The choices are numerous. The choice which the rayon executive committee made was, in my view, the right one. The decision was made regularly to sponsor trade fairs in kolkhozes and sovkhoses, as a result of which now goods which are in daily and in greater demand are shipped directly to the rural workers. Here they have tried to convert such fairs not only into places of trade but into celebrations of amateur artistic creativity and sports. We can sense behind this the work style of the Volovskiy Party Raykom and of Mikhail Dmitriyevich Pertsev, its

first secretary. I recently had a talk with him and I was simply amazed at his familiarity with the people in the rayon: mention any name and the party leader knows the person better than does the personnel department. Yet he has been on this job for less than 4 years. It is no accident that today this rayon has just about the most stable cadre structure.

Our figures include data such as the following: in 1984 90 people were expelled from the party in the oblast for alcohol abuse. The figures for 1985 and 1986 rose to 535. Has an epidemic of alcoholism spread in our oblast? Naturally, it has not. It is simply that the party members became significantly stricter and less tolerant of those who had forgotten their obligations as party members. It is indicative that only eight of those expelled from the party for drunkenness appealed to superior party authorities. I believe that this is a clear indication of the fairness of the decisions which watched over the purity and honesty of the party member's reputation. However, have we always been principle-minded to the end? Last year, in 212 cases the CPSU gorkoms and raykoms were forced to annul the decisions of primary party organizations on imposing penalties as being too liberal, and to increase the severity of punishment. Is this not a significant figure?

In short, the process of restructuring is very complex and it would be misleading to judge of it only on the basis of the superficial data of one or another "individual" area of activity. Therefore, in considering any problem we try to ensure comparisons and even clashes of opinions. With increased frequency the agenda of the obkom buro is drafted by comprehensive groups and it is precisely where departments intersect that the most interesting ideas or unusual methods come to life. No other way is possible today. To manage restructuring means mandatorily to learn from practical experience, to be ready for any sensible step, to make less high-sounding statements and to do more for the good of the people. I believe that it is this type of pivot in political leadership that can and must be considered reliable.

Unquestionably, we clearly realize that the restructuring of party work and the strengthened role of party committees as agencies of political leadership is a task for the solution of which it would be hardly possible to set a deadline for reaping results. However, very important initial steps have been taken: targets and development methods earmarked by the party in the post-April period are increasingly becoming the daily concern of party organizations. The turn of the party committees to the individual and to the sociopolitical aspect of any problem, whatever technical aspect it may assume, is taking place with increased awareness. The fruitfulness of this approach is obvious. However, in order for what we have planned to turn into reality we must work with a persistence worthy of our plans.

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## LIKE IN A DROP OF WATER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 87 (signed to press 3 Jun 87) pp 34-35

[Letter to the editors by L. Monchinskiy, trade union committee chairman, Pechora Gold Prospectors Cooperative, Komi ASSR]

[Text] If we ask "what is the main process taking place today in our economy?," probably the most accurate answer would be "seeking!" The country's economy is seeking ways of getting rid of bureaucratism, eliminating obsolete dogmas and clearing the way to the new economic mechanism. The main guidelines along this way, formulated by the 27th Party Congress and the January 1987 Central Committee Plenum, are cost accounting, self-governing and self-financing.

As numerous economic experiments have confirmed, the implementation of such principles is no simple matter. This is largely due to the fact that in order to ensure efficient work within the enterprise, they must be applied immediately, in their entirety. This, however, immediately triggers contradictions between the enterprise and its economic partners and between it and superior and controlling organizations. On the one hand, authorities approve the experiment while, on the other, they begin to frustrate it. However, such principles cannot function "partially."

In my view, there is one sector in the national economy where this experiment has already acquired citizenship rights: for several decades modern gold prospecting cooperatives have been operating in the gold mining industry; they are highly mechanized, operating on the basis of full cost accounting, self-governing and self-financing. On a national scale, the role of such cooperatives is that they make possible the industrial development of small, inaccessible and remote deposits in uninhabited areas. Let me describe our collective--the Pechora Gold Prospecting Cooperative.

In 30 years of existence (in different areas and under different names) this collective has supplied the country with a great deal of gold. Every year the cooperative fulfills its extraction plan and we have frequently won the sectorial socialist competition championship. Today we are developing the polar areas of the Urals. We are 1,400 highly skilled mechanizers and construction workers who practice the expeditionary method of two 12-hour shifts daily, and average 220 days annually. However, the experience of our

enterprise is not only that, based on cost accounting and self-government, it can work rapidly, efficiently and advantageously both for the state and to the workers. It is also that for the time being such work is triggering a most violent negative reaction in the superior organization. Recently the Uralzoloto Production Association, of which we are a production subdivision, was instructed by the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy to close down the Pechora Cooperative.

Was this because we work at a loss or are not fulfilling our plans? It was not. Working at small and poor deposits, and properly maintaining the equipment, which we rebuild ourselves, year after year we are fulfilling our plans for gold extraction, requiring no subsidies, credits or equipment. Therefore, economically, we are not causing the ministry any difficulties but contributing to it. Nor do we make trouble for the ministry because of slackness or lack of discipline, for no such things occur in our group. Strictest possible discipline is our natural condition as has been properly acknowledged by all of our economic partners and the local authorities wherever we have worked. Today in many areas the organization of basic living conditions is one of the most difficult problems of many departments. The Pechora workers and engineers, as anyone who has visited us will agree, live in highly comfortable hostels. Auxiliary farms supply the collective with tasty and high-quality food. We have resolved the problem of the pioneering development of inaccessible areas which, however, are rich in resources. As to labor productivity, according to our computations, at the Pechora Cooperative it is more than triple that of the ministry's average and I already mentioned the type of equipment with which it was achieved. According to the ministry's economists we are engaged in self-advertising, for according to their estimates our productivity is only (!) double the ministry's average.

So, let it be double. Could this be considered reason for closing down a prosperous production collective? Today, when our society is solving a problem related to a radical revision of economic management methods, the ministry could prove the value and unavoidability of rigid administrative control only by discrediting the still few enterprises in which full and consistent cost accounting and the firm connection between individual income and end results, and a democratic style of production life have yielded substantial results.

In the past few years we have not received a single bulldozer. According to our estimates, with every passing year the amount of stripping is being increasingly reduced. One could imagine the reaction under such circumstances of an ordinary enterprise which is tied, hand and feet, with instructions. However, the advantage of a cooperative enterprise lies precisely in the fact that by its very nature it is initiative-minded, enterprising and energetic. We do not wait for the ministry's charity. With the significant organizational and cadre reserves at our disposal, as we meet the requests of the party and soviet authorities of the Komi ASSR, the geological organizations, Komiavtodor and the Komi-neft Association, and in an effort to stabilize wages today, we have undertaken to lay roads. It would be difficult to find a more vital problem in the northern part of the republic, where we have contracted to build roads. The party obkom and the republic's council of ministers have highly rated the fast and high-quality building of oilfield and

automotive roads of republic importance between Irayel and Izhma. We laid this road in 10 months while the norm called for 66 months. Output per worker exceeding the corresponding indicators of the Komineftedorstroyremont Trust for the respective indicators by a factor of 3.4; the monthly volume of freight haulage per dump truck exceeded the trust's indicator by a factor of 5.3. The trust is engaged in doing similar work in that same area. The road-construction section of the cooperative, numbering 170 people, laid 107 kms of automotive roads and made capital repairs on another 30 kms. This year our plans included the building of another republic road from Ukhta to Syktyvkar.

This precisely was the project that was the pretext for closing down our enterprise. According to the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, we completed an excessively high volume of "side" operations (worth 16.5 million rubles in 1986). Did we carry out this work at the expense of what our ministry had planned and, tempted by the money of the petroleum workers, neglected the ministry's needs? No, not even our ill-wishers are accusing us of this. The wage mechanism in our sector is so structured that above-plan extraction means a loss for the cooperative. By increasing our plan we could at least double the volume of gold production. The ministry does not want this.

The efficiency of the road construction which we are doing does not create any doubts from the national economic viewpoint. However, the department is indifferent to the needs of the area and the country. "If you want to build roads for the petroleum workers apply for a transfer to their ministry!" we are told.

We are frequently blamed for the fact that we are profiting from tax benefits offered to gold prospectors. We are willing to give them up and have repeatedly submitted suggestions to the superior authorities on changing the procedure for taxing cooperatives. Unfortunately, making such a decision does not depend on us. For the time being the ministry is relying on obsolete laws which are inconsistent with the spirit of the time and hinder the implementation of the CPSU course of radical restructuring of the management system and the active use of the cooperative ownership system. One may think that if the obvious interests of the project conflict with such instructions, the state authorities should hasten to revise them. There is another way as well, however, that of using such documents in order to hit at those who take restructuring seriously and are ready to struggle for it not only in words but in actions.

Within the existing economic mechanism everything is against us who are practicing self-governing, cost accounting, electivity and assessment of the work on the basis of end results rather than reports and intermediary indicators. Habit and the mentality of the apparatus, developed in the course of decades, which considers its benefit not as being that of the country but exclusively in terms of the administrative influence exercised by its department are all working against us in an organized way, without fear of consequences.

Closing down the cooperative at the beginning of the gold prospecting season, for which the collective has been thoroughly preparing itself during the winter months, will lead to major national economic losses. Great harm will

be caused also to the development of the Komi Republic, which needs many more kilometers of roads; 1,400 skilled workers, who had planned their work year, will be faced with the need somehow to "find jobs;" 700 of them are already unemployed. About 100 units of heavy road building machinery are idling. Soon the entire collective, which was considered among the best in the sector for decades, will no longer exist.

Naturally, we do have shortcomings. But it seems to us that closing down this collective which has already accomplished a great deal of what today our society is persistently looking for is inconsistent with the spirit of the time. We regret that we cannot make an even greater contribution to the development of the northern resources or to the restructuring of our economy. It seems to us that this story reflects like in a drop a water the problems and difficulties which are being encountered today by people who are seriously engaged in restructuring.

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## WHO BENEFITS FROM THE CONSTRUCTION?

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 87 (signed to press 3 Jun 87) pp 36-41

[Letter to the editors signed by the collective of the All-Union Order of Lenin Gidroproyekt Design-Research and Scientific Research Institute imeni S.Ya. Zhuk (909 signatures)]

[Text] Dear editors:

The collective of the All-Union Order of Lenin Gidroproyekt Design-Research and Scientific Research Institute imeni S.Ya. Zhuk deems necessary to address itself to you as follows.

Of late the central press, literary-artistic journals and other publications have carried a number of articles on problems of hydroelectric power plant construction. This has included the newspapers PRAVDA of 11 September 1985, 17 September 1986, 1 December 1986, 11 March 1987 and 18 March 1987; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 31 January 1986 and 18 November 1986; KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 21 March 1987; EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, No 12, 1987; and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 29 January 1986, 3 September 1986 and 28 January 1987; and the journals KOMMUNIST No 17, 1986; NOVYY MIR No 1, 1987; and NASH SOVREMENNİK, No 1, 1987. Some "documentaries" have been made on the same topic, such as "The Dam" by the Sverdlovsk movie studio, and "Land in Trouble."

Such published or filmed materials tendentiously note the adverse consequences of hydroelectric power construction, which involves the flooding of forests and farmland, resettling the population and resulting changes in the ecological environment. The authors of such works, who greatly exaggerate such phenomena which have indeed taken place, demand a halt to the building of GES. They do not cite the positive factors which make the national economy interested in developing the country's hydroelectric power potential.

A characteristic feature of all publications and films on this topic is their low technological and scientific standard but high emotional intensity. The opponents of hydroelectric power construction are, as a rule, specialists in other areas, who neither provide proof in support of their views or allow readers and viewers to consider such problems on the basis of specific economic data with the type of objectivity which the topic deserves and which is demanded of such responsible and reputable publications.

Totally without reason, the authors of such publications and films assume the right publicly to question the reason for installations, already built or under construction, and professional standards in some scientific, technological and practical areas; they peremptorily issue advice on principles governing the use of river stocks for power generating purposes. The publications show that their authors are totally unfamiliar with the procedure which has been established in the country and which is strictly observed in drafting blueprints, their substantiation and their coordination with all interested and local organizations, including environmental protection authorities, and the expert evaluations and approvals of designs. They ascribe the blueprint and the decision to implement it to a single author, institute or circle of individuals with a limited (departmental) outlook, who allegedly try to conceal the atmosphere of chaos and prejudice, prevailing, until discovered, in the substantiation, discussion, planning and implementation of major national economic plans.

In order to support their views and give them a "social intonation" some publications refer to "broad public opinion" on the subject of the undesirability of hydroelectric power construction, ascribing as such the results of surveys of secondary school students and other equally "authoritative" audiences. They even ascribe to V.I. Lenin statements opposing hydroelectric power construction in flat areas, ignoring Lenin's GOELRO plan, which included the construction of the Volkhov, Svirs, Dnepr and other GES. At the same time, statements by hydroelectric power specialists are grossly misrepresented and taken out of context for the sake of the criticism, based on the view that "the worse it becomes, the better."

We must acknowledge that such an unconscientious campaign is yielding results. Under the influence of such publications, the absence of objective information has led to a reduction in the pace of development of hydroelectric power resources and to changes in the attitude of the public toward hydroelectric power projects, which has entailed difficulties in setting up construction collectives and changed the attitude of young people toward this attractive profession. Discrediting Soviet science and practice in hydroelectric power construction is harming the country in the international arena where, with the help of the Soviet Union, a number of major hydroelectric power projects, which are the foundations of the economies of such countries, have been built or are being designed and under construction. This campaign also harms the feeling of pride in their profession of hundreds of thousands of Soviet hydroelectric power construction workers, who justly believe that their work is useful and necessary to society.

Nonetheless, we do not wish to be misunderstood or depicted as opposing criticism or else as supporters of concealing from the public the negative aspects of hydroelectric power construction. On the contrary, we are convinced that it is precisely the public discussion of some problems which have remained unsolved that will enable us to accelerate their solution. Actually, the lack of interest shown by some departments, the fact that to this day they have no specialized equipment and that they do not plan projects comprehensively have resulted in the flooding of wide timber-covered areas. The people's property is being lost, the quality of the water is worsening and



the operation of the equipment is becoming more difficult. The time has truly come for public control over such projects.

Hydroengineering construction disturbs river fishing but creates conditions for the organization of frequently more productive type of fishing. Considering, once again, departmental difficulties, delays in special studies and the inefficiency of many economic authorities, such opportunities are not being used, as the mass information media have extensively and quite accurately reported.

The building of water reservoirs leads to the flooding of land, some of which is valuable. This is the most significant and, unfortunately, inevitable harm caused to the national economy. However, this too should be assessed realistically. It is a fact that in the past 70 years losses from the creation of water reservoirs have amounted to 0.48 percent of the total area of farmland and 0.3 percent of arable land in the country.

Nonetheless, it is thanks to water reservoirs that the results of the comprehensive use of water resources in the generation of electric power, increasing yields of irrigated farm crops, enhancing the level of availability of water for industry, improving conditions for the development of water transportation, and so on, have substantially increased. As a rule, the results of regulating water flows in agriculture has exceeded the damage from the flooding of farmland. Nonetheless, funds for compensation for the flooded areas, the size of which is determined on the basis of corresponding standards, are appropriated in building the GES. However, in building GES we must comprehensively try to reduce such flooding, something which is currently being done. Another topic worthy of discussion is the use of substantial state funds appropriated as compensation for damages caused to agriculture whenever a water reservoir is being created.

Some climatic changes may appear as a result of the creation of major hydroelectric power centers within the areas of the GES and the water reservoirs, not all of which are desirable. The assessment of their consequences in designing such projects has been made more difficult by the absence of any whatsoever reliable methods for forecasting changes in the climate. No such methods exist abroad as well. Here again our scientists and the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences owe a great deal of work to our practical workers.

In presenting such problems in mass information media, journals and motion pictures, the public must also be informed of the economic need for the utilization of hydroelectric resources in the country, as is currently being done with the nuclear power industry.

Today hydroelectric power stations are the most efficient source of electric power. Interest in building GES throughout the world is exceptionally high. Thus, in 1985 the United States reached a 45 percent level of development of its hydroelectric power resources; the respective figures were 48 percent for Canada, 63 percent for Japan, 84 percent for France, 72 percent for Italy and 73 percent for Sweden, compared with only 19.5 percent for the USSR. The further intensive utilization of such resources is continuing in all

countries. More than 20 percent of the annual production of electric power in the world comes from hydroelectric power stations (14 percent in the USSR).

It is thanks to the GES that more than 80 million tons of fuel are saved annually in the USSR. This means reduced need for petroleum, natural gas and coal, the extraction of which is becoming increasingly more difficult and expensive, and whose refining and utilization also involve substantial harm to the environment. It means reducing the gravity of the social problem related to the working conditions of miners and living under extreme weather conditions. Finally, it alleviates somewhat the moral responsibility for the not always sensible utilization of nonreplenishable natural resources by the present and future generations.

The hydroelectric power stations will continue to perform their functions of ensuring power suppliers to the national economy at peak hours of use of electric power today and even more so in the future, thus ensuring the most favorable conditions for the operation of large thermoelectric and nuclear power plants and improving the reliability and safety not only of these plants but of entire power systems.

Labor productivity at hydroelectric power plants is significantly higher than elsewhere. Their use has already made it possible to release more than 400,000 people for other work in the national economy. Finally, the generating of electric power at the GES is absolutely nonpolluting.

The development of water reservoirs involves major expenditures, which are growing steadily. Harm caused to agriculture from flooding is compensated; industrial and agricultural enterprises are moved from the flooded areas and rebuilt and modernized; new settlements with full amenities and sociocultural projects are being built for the resettled population and, in the case of rural settlements, with animal husbandry premises at each farmyard; furthermore, the owners are paid for the cost of the destroyed housing, buildings and crops. At the present time the state pays an average of about 10,000 rubles per individual resettled from the flooded areas. This provides a solution to a very complex social problem related to the flooding of settlements. The public must be informed of this fact as well.

In the development of water reservoirs funds are appropriated for timber cutting and clearing. The results of such operations, however, are unsatisfactory both for the state and the public. Nor are we, hydroelectric power workers, satisfied.

Let us also note another feature of hydroelectric power projects. In the majority of cases they are the pioneering project for major industrial complexes to be built in the future. It was on the basis of such projects that industrial centers such as Zaporozhye, Togliatti, Volga, Bratsk, Ust-Ilimsk, Balakovo and many others, were built. This process, which is of particular importance to Siberia and the Far East, is continuing.

All such facts must be made known to the Soviet people, as well as the fact that nature has not created an inexhaustible source of electric power. It is man who must generate such energy and use it thriftily while, at the same

time, steadily increase its output. Human progress is inconceivable without this. In this clash of opposites, we believe that the duty of the mass information media is to shape a public opinion not opposed to entire power industry sectors but to methods which call for achieving results "at any cost" and, in the final account, to the detriment of their own interests.

We believe that responsibility for published data, their accuracy and the full presentation of the problem must be assumed also by the editors of the mass information media. For the sake of the truth different views should be published. However, the answers which our specialists provide to critical articles remain unpublished. We have gained the impression that the editors which have published critical materials have become hypnotized by the views of writers, artists and some scientists, and have accepted them as the "absolute truth" which they support. This method, however, does not imply a pursuit of the truth. It is a means of imposing opinions which are quite frequently subjective and inaccurate.

It is our view that the publication of this letter would be the best answer we could give to readers who would like to find out about the true state of affairs concerning the building of hydroelectric power plants.

[Editorial note] It is not frequently that the mail to the editors would include a six-page letter accompanied by 23 pages of signatures. However, it was not the number of signatures that motivated the editors to publish this letter (unedited and unabridged). The viewpoint it expresses is worthy of public attention and public discussion and, we believe, would be useful.

The standard maintained in a debate is an important element of social standards, particularly under conditions of openness. The Gidroproyekt letter reflects an entire set of concepts on how to and how not to conduct a debate. Let us consider the suggested principle that specialists should judge of special problems. This means that hydroelectric engineers should discuss problems of hydroelectric engineering. It is true that the opponents of Gidroproyekt did not violate this principle. Thus, the article in KOMMUNIST, to which the letter refers, was written by M. Lemeshev, a major specialist in economics and ecology, who expressed his views only on matters pertaining to his own specialty.

Another principle is not to substitute emotions for a practical study of the facts. The Gidroproyekt letter itself consists more of emotions than facts and practical studies. This is understandable, for the collective considers itself unfairly blamed.

And so, let us consider exclusively the question which can be understood by any member of society and which is most persistently raised in the letter: the place and role of the public, of democratic consultations and open discussions, which is very important under the conditions of restructuring.

The authors of the letter do not reject the role of the public out of hand. They write that "Indeed, the time has come to organize public control over such projects." What projects are they referring to? Is it about the work done by the timber industry to clear the beds of future water reservoirs?

This means that public control is allowed over "someone else's" department but not over "one's own." In turn, however, the timber procurement workers could object to the hydroelectric power workers: You are not specialists in timber exploitation, do not dare judge it.

We cannot ignore the thought that the attitude toward openness displayed by the authors of this letter is obviously selective. For decades on end Gidroproyekt had no objection to the flood of articles, books and motion pictures which loudly praised hydroelectric power workers and hydroelectric power construction. Let us remember the number of enthusiastic works on the subject of the Kakhovka GES and the fact that today's study of the negative consequences of this project by no means balances the amount of previous praise. The praise was sincere and the designers of the Kakhovka hydroelectric power center should not be judged too strictly, for at that time there was no experience and perhaps it was still difficult to predict the harm which has now been caused as a result of the Kakhovka Sea. But how can we ignore any public discussion now, when we are familiar with the errors? Errors caused by ignorance can be understood but efforts to conceal the already familiar danger are unforgivable.

Obviously recalling the past inevitable praise, the Gidroproyekt comrades occasionally ascribe to public opinion an excessive possibility of influencing the production successes of their sector. They write that critical publications slower the pace at which hydroelectric power resources are developed and change the public attitude toward hydroelectric power projects...."

Does this cover the entire problem from the public point of view? The managers of this largest sectorial institute cannot be unaware of the true reasons for a slowdown in the pace of hydroelectric power construction. Material and financial resources were in short supply. Over a long period of time the capital investments appropriated for the sector did not permit the work to go on along a broad front. The difficulties could have been reduced by concentrating resources on a lesser number of projects and shortening construction deadlines, for in construction the term "faster" also means "cheaper." Instead, what occurred?

Let us consider the example of the building of the Rogun GES, which did not trigger so many arguments as building a power plant in a flat area: a classically advantageous (mountain) location, a canyon water reservoir with a minimal flooded area with a maximal amount of water, an underpopulated area and land of little value in the area to be flooded, huge power generating capacity and increased water resources for irrigation without any long canals, which create such controversy. Such construction is consistent with the interests of the sector (the sector, precisely, and not the department), for the timely development of the Rogun project, immediately following the completion of the work at the Nurek (on that same Vakhsh power system) would help keep together a skilled collective. The construction project was started during the 10th 5-year period. During the 11th, however, there was 1 year during which appropriations for Rogun were slightly more than 1 percent of the overall cost estimate of the GES. The current amount of annual work is higher but how was the collective to survive this "swing of the pendulum?"

Was there no way of procuring more funds? And how was it possible to keep Rogun on hungry rations while encouraging with strange haste the development of work at projects which were the subject of questions and objections, particularly at the Daugavpils and Katun GES? At this point, the idea insinuates itself that this haste served the interests not of the sector but the department: to "cling" to an area and to hasten in to make the type of investments which would prevent any subsequent halt of the construction project impossible.

In its 1 December 1986 issue PRAVDA published an article on the ecological and economic aspects of the Katun project, also cited by the authors of the Hidroproyekt letter as one of the materials they object to. It would be futile to seek in the institute's letter any kind of an answer to the arguments cited in that article, including the frightening doubt concerning the adequate solidity of the dam to be built, according to the plan, in a zone of high seismic instability. Here as well, as in the case of the article by M. Lemeshev, all the facts are different from what the letter claims: The article includes a number of specific cases and serious arguments. The letter of the 909 specialists does not contain even a single word in answering them.

The reason we mentioned the PRAVDA article was not for the sake of analyzing the Katun project in its essence, for this is still a matter for the specialists. What is interesting in this article is another detail which has remained equally "unnoticed" by the Hidroproyekt comrades. The newspaper wrote that the Altay scientists (scientists and not writers or artists) decided to hold a practical science conference to discuss the ecological aspects of the problem. On three occasions the organizational committee issued advance invitations to the project chief engineer and the management of Hidroproyekt. They were left unanswered.

The voice of the public is needed also because some commonplace errors committed by specialists can be seen only by outsiders. Those 909 specialists write with disarming equanimity that water reservoirs have taken 0.48 percent of our farmland, clearly believing that this is a very small figure. But if we ask the owners, the entire people, would they not say that this is a very great deal? This half of 1 percent amounts to 3 million hectares, and this applies exclusively to farmland; meanwhile, water reservoirs have also spread over many other areas. If such is the case with a 19-percent utilization of hydroelectric power resources, what would happen if we reached the 50 percent level? Hydroelectric power is, furthermore, only one of hundreds of subsectors which take away land. Land is being lost to quarries, plants, roads, pipelines, cities and airports. It is precisely this "reassuring" approach to the sectorial economy, as demonstrated in the letter, that leads the country into the vicious circle of outlay economic management: We flood the most valuable lands gifted us by nature in order to build a water reservoir and provide electric power for the irrigation of other less valuable land. How much do we lose and how much do we gain instead? We must make such computations, for the least recoverable of all nonrecoverable natural resources is the land.

Following is another passage which indicates that professionals no longer notice what may be striking to an outsider: the view that "the damage caused

to agriculture is subject to compensation, enterprises are removed from the flooded area," and so on. All of this is credited to the hydroelectric power builders. But how is this possible? Is it not clear that no one ever compensates the national economy as a whole for the damage caused by the flooded land? It is possible to pay a so-called compensation to an individual kolkhoz or sovkhoz. However, this is not a good deed on the part of the hydroelectric power workers. Compensations such as these come from the people who must pay for yet another expenditure out of their own state budget. Is this to the credit of the designers? On the contrary. Their duty is to avoid such losses whenever possible.

Finally, something which the letter mentions in passing, as a most simple matter, but which triggers our greatest objections: "Currently the state spends an average of about 10,000 rubles per person resettled from the flooded area. This solves the rather difficult social problem related to the flooding of settlements." Could one seriously believe that the problem is solved with 10,000 rubles? How many rubles would suffice to compensate for the flooding of a rural cemetery where one's ancestors are buried? How to appraise the loss of cultural monuments?

It is precisely the solution of social problems that demands with particular urgency the participation of the public. "Social" means "of the public." In the problem of resettlement as well the best informed specialist is the one who is being resettled. Why does Gidroproyekt avoid to discuss with the public the project for the Daugavpils GES? On that topic not 909 but more than 30,000 signatures of residents who have sent their written protests have been collected.

To build a hydroelectric power plant for the good of the people without asking for the opinion of the people and to put means higher than objectives is what technocracy is, which is one of the most refined varieties of bureaucratism. We feel uncomfortable as we repeat something universally known, but we must: The funds appropriated by the state for any project equally belongs to all citizens in the country, for which reason all citizens have the equal right to know the purpose for which such monies are expended. Nature as well, which is changed by the hydroelectric power builders, equally belongs to all of us.

The standards and the viability itself of a society are largely characterized by its ability to learn from its errors. We cannot forget the error of Kara-Bogaz, the more so since it is not the only one. The only conclusion we can draw from it is that Kara-Bogaz belongs not to Minvodkhoz or Minkhimprom but to the entire nation and that no department has the right independently to decide whether or not the map of the fatherland will include the Kara-Bogaz Bay. Nor are Katun, Dnepr or Daugava the property of Gidroproyekt. All of us have the right to demand an accountability for any changes made in our common home.

The letter of this respected collective saddens us not only because of the clear aspiration of putting "one's own" department above criticism. What is also depressing is the confidence of the planners, alien to the restructuring, that everything in their case is as it should be and nothing should be changed. Let us consider perhaps the accusation that the authors of critical

articles are totally unfamiliar with the procedure of the formulation, expert evaluation and approval of projects. Such a statement can be understood only in the sense that everything with such procedures is in order and nothing could be better. Is this the case?

Let us consider the current discussion of the Daugavpils GES. What made the people most indignant was the fact that the work was initiated secretly from the public, with no public announcement and discussion of the project which was not submitted for state expert evaluation by the USSR Gosstroy. This is correct: 20 million rubles have already been spent on this project without it having been submitted for state expert evaluation. It turns out, however, that according to the specialists the project is quite satisfactory. No official violation of the law has taken place, for a thorough expert evaluation must be provided only for major projects the cost of which should exceed 250 million rubles. A GES built in Siberia which may cost a billion or so must be subject to expert evaluation. The Daugavpils GES, comparatively, is petty or, more accurately, a borderline case: almost 250 million. At present the decision has been made to consider this project by experts. This, however, is being done on a selective control basis, which means that such an evaluation may not have taken place.

Let us repeat that officially there was no violation of the rule. Does this mean that it is so confidently approved? The comparison among the importance of projects based on cost estimates alone is objectionable. The net cost of a probable error on the Daugava would be lesser than on the Lena or the Yenisey. But should we be concerned only with the question of construction outlays? The land which is being flooded in the thickly populated European areas is scarce and more valuable than in Siberia, and the scale of resettling is much greater. Furthermore, this involves national policy, for such a water reservoir would extend over areas of the three republics.

Here is another question: Since, although selective, an expert evaluation will be made, why not make it before the construction project has been started but only after 20 million rubles have already been spent? It turns out that this too was in accordance with the law. In the first 2 or 3 years, while preparatory operations are underway, and the project is not under construction, temporary financing is provided. This approach, however, implicitly presumes that the expert evaluation will deal only with the technical standard of the project while the expediency itself of the construction is no longer questioned at this stage. Today reality has refuted this premise and it is precisely expediency that is being questioned. This project was opposed by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and by the commission of scientists it appointed. Should the commission prove that it is right, we shall have to acknowledge that 20 million rubles were wasted...without any violation of the rules. Are such rules adequate?

The following question is what rules should replace them? Should an expert evaluation be provided for all projects? In that case more people will have to be hired, there will be more red tape but will the reliability of decisions improve? Would it not be more sensible to issue a regulation precisely approving what the Hidroproyekt comrades object: making mandatory the preliminary publication of information on plans and consultations with the

public, particularly in cases which directly affect the interests of the local population. The public is not all that ignorant and has frequently proved that its arguments are not idle chatter.

Let us recall our history: Immediately after the October Revolution the decision was made which mandated all enterprises to publish their balance sheets in the press. And they did, at a time when many working people could not even read, not to mention understand the meaning of a balance sheet. Lenin considered the opening of enterprise records the most important advantage of socialism, for socialist democracy does not end with the right to vote. It also includes the right granted to everyone to decide on most important problems of material production and distribution. Naturally, the public defense of projects would create a great deal of inconvenience for the planners. However, it would most likely help to avoid frequent expensive mistakes.

Unfortunately, the standard of debates was by no means strengthened in the course of recent decades, when the predominant aspiration was to avoid an open discussion of serious vital problems. A particular reaction to this was the way in which some members of so-called informal associations behaved. Some speakers are countering the old bureaucratic arrogance with pseudo-democratic extremism. They try to gain public support by addressing themselves in some areas of our life in which now familiar errors were made, including various projects for "transforming nature." Sometimes a "simple" solution is suggested: abandoning any interference with nature. Claiming to speak precisely for the people, they reject out of hand any opinion other than their own. Quite recently, at a meeting held in Novosibirsk, where the Katun project was discussed publicly, objections were voiced to the statement by Academician A.A. Trofimuk simply because of his statement that one cannot judge of a project without having studied it.

Such incidents trigger natural indignation. However, could they be answered by a refusal to hold public discussions? Demagogy can be defeated only by disseminating knowledge and accurate scientific information on the real situation. Does the letter we publish display such an approach? Alas, it rather indicates a wish to avoid openness. The Gidroyekt comrades oppose not extremist statements but "all publications and motion pictures on this topic," as the letter reads. The materials which they disagree with include essentially practical articles by noted specialists. The charge that the opponents of the hydroelectric construction builders are "totally unfamiliar" with the procedures for the formulation and coordination of projects is not followed in the least by any explanation of the procedure. The arguments brought forth in the criticized articles are not only not subject to any practical analysis but are not even mentioned in the letter, nor are they answered. The arguments brought forth by the planners are practically reduced to a comparison between the percentage of development of hydroelectric resources at home and abroad. Yet it is precisely such comparisons that are the least convincing, for the USSR is not Italy and in our country the main consumers of hydroelectric power are thousands of kilometers away from power sources.



The trouble is not that a given comparison is unconvincing. The trouble is that the hydroelectric power builders have not engaged in a practical discussion with the readers on the essence of the matters which were raised in the articles they mention. The global approach itself, on the level of international comparisons, willy-nilly indicates that the authors of this letter are concerned exclusively with governmental considerations which should not be discussed by uninitiated people. Such tone does not contribute to finding an accurate solution.

The 909 people who have signed this letter are probably in favor of restructuring. Their letter indicates many faults which must be eliminated. However, in their opinion, it is not Hidroproyekt but others who must restructure themselves. Will there be any restructuring with such an approach? We would very much like for the 909 authors of this letter to reread it in the journal and to reconsider it.

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## ON THE ROAD OPENED BY LENIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 87 (signed to press 3 Jun 87) pp 42-49

[Article by Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party. Article based on a speech delivered at a mass meeting at the Sports Palace in Lisbon, end of February 1987.]

[Text] The 70th anniversary of the first victorious socialist revolution in history and the creation of the first state of workers and peasants in the world falls in 1987. For the past 7 decades, the Soviet people have been building a new society free from the yoke of capitalism, without exploiters and exploited. Throughout this time imperialist propaganda has ceaselessly mounted malicious subversive campaigns against the Soviet Union.

We, Portuguese communists, welcome the tremendous efforts being made on renovation taking place in the Soviet Union in accordance with the resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress, and consider this a revolutionary effort to perfect the socialist society.

We salute the political daring of the Soviet comrades with which they have undertaken to correct faults, solve problems and surmount negative phenomena and processes while, at the same time, undertake to make the necessary changes for the acceleration of socioeconomic development.

### Riding the Old Anticommunist Horse

No single event has ever occurred in the land of the soviets which has not been paralleled by new attacks launched by imperialist ideologues. The Soviet Union has always been accused of something. The main purpose of these attacks has always been the aspiration to belittle the significance of the October Revolution, which is the main accomplishment of socialism and communism, and to deprive the working people, who are subject to capitalist exploitation, of faith in the possibility of their own liberation and of building socialism in their own country.

Today the anticommunists are trying to convince public opinion that the new CPSU policy allegedly proves a "decline" of socialism and that, in the final account, capitalism will allegedly become "stronger" and that it represents the real future of human society. It is regrettable that even within the labor movement voices have been heard claiming that the ideal of the October

Revolution has allegedly "lost its mobilizing power," and has "outlived itself" and has no future in the history of mankind.

All of this notwithstanding, the course charted at the 27th Congress, and now pursued, does not indicate a weakening of the socialist system. Conversely, it confirms the advantages and the potential opportunities of socialism. It is based on the tremendous accomplishments achieved in recent years.

The current line followed by the CPSU is not a move toward capitalism but a decisive forward movement in building socialism, a struggle against conservatism and for surmounting stagnation in the economy, technology and culture. It is a struggle against negative phenomena, the very essence and nature of which are alien to the Soviet system. The course of the CPSU, which is being implemented, indicates the intensification of socialist democracy in all areas of social development. The exercise of the political, socioeconomic and civil rights of the Soviet people is an inseparable part of this democracy, under the conditions of which natural resources, means of production and political power belong to the people and it is precisely the people's masses that are the determining force in society.

It is only wherever the power belongs to the people that a profound critical analysis of the situation, omissions and errors, and resolve to engage in restructuring, starting with the highest levels of state power, party agencies, the government and the local administrations become possible, in order to ensure the acceleration of socioeconomic progress and the more efficient protection of the real interests and rights of the working people and all popular masses and their active and leading participation in progress in all areas of life.

When what is considered shortcoming and errors in the rule by the rich in capitalist society are criticized, the purpose is not to solve the problems affecting the people but to increase exploitation, accumulate capital and strengthen their rule.

To the communists criticism and self-criticism are a means of correcting faults and errors. It is a means of analyzing the situation and defining future trends in the work and prospects.

The critical evaluation of reality, currently under way in the USSR, and, particularly, the creative study of new phenomena (positive and negative) and the search for and creative approach to finding new ways and solutions do not question the accuracy of Marxism-Leninism but, conversely, are manifestations of its strictly scientific substantiation, efficiency and vitality.

The new scientific communist outlook is the precise opposite of stagnation, dogmatism, conservatism, inertia and sluggishness. Marxists-Leninists neither can nor must answer new phenomena with quotations from textbooks or the monotonous repetition of the statements made by classics or party leaders. The Marxists-Leninists must analyze scientifically and firmly any event in life. This enables them to identify reality in its entirety and to find a solution to the questions it raises.

In both questions of theory and practical activities, thanks to its creative wealth, Marxism-Leninism is a tool which encourages the efficient interpretation of new facts and the search for solutions consistent with the new situations and for making changes consistent with the requirements of development in the economic, social, political and cultural areas.

What is particularly important (and deliberately ignored by anticommunist ideologues) is that the main feature of Marxism-Leninism is convincingly confirmed in current CPSU activities. We understand that the successful implementation of the objective which the USSR has set itself will be of tremendous importance not only to the Soviet people but also the peoples of all countries and to the development of the process of liberation of the working people the world over. The point is that the policy drafted by the 27th CPSU Congress and currently implemented by the party is contributing to the more confident progress made by the Soviet Union toward the full building of socialism. This is an important contribution to our struggle as well.

The last 70 years have indicated that the October Revolution was not only a great revolutionary accomplishment. It was not merely a radical change made by a specific nation in a specific country. The October Revolution marked a decisive turn in the history of mankind and the beginning of the age of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Unquestionably, these were years of a sharp struggle and class battles in each country and in the international arena, a time of imperialist armed aggressions, interventions, terrorist actions and wars. The past 7 decades, which are now history, were marked by advances and retreats of progressive forces, their victories and defeats. These were decades of a great variety of experience and the elimination of a great variety of difficulties and obstacles on the path of the revolutionary process; these were years during which, in a very complex period of historical development, weaknesses were shown and inevitable errors made. However, let us single out the following among the greatest and historically important political accomplishments of that time.

They included the creation of the first state of workers and peasants in the world--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--and the building of the first socialist society in history; the victory of the USSR over Hitlerite Germany in World War II; the triumph of the socialist system in a number of countries, which meant that now there were two global systems--socialist and capitalist; the overthrow of fascist dictatorships in many countries; the breakdown of the colonial system and the gain of national independence by dozens of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America; the socialist and revolutionary choice made by the liberated nations; and the broadening and powerful participation of the communist movement in global processes, acting as the most influential political force of our age.

#### Unification and Strengthening of the International Communist Movement

The international situation dictates some basic trends in the activities of the communist movement, including the strengthened unity within its ranks; broadening ties and cooperation with other revolutionary anti-imperialist

forces; search for specific objectives, initiatives and forms of work jointly with all progressive social forces and movements which are fighting for democracy, social progress, national independence and peace under a variety of conditions.

These are different but mutually supplementing trends. The main among them is the strength and unity of the communist movement, which is the basic factor in maintaining the dynamics of our struggle.

Aware of the fact that the communist movement is a tremendous force, using its subversive ideological activities imperialism is trying to split its ranks. Constantly resorting to intrigues and slanderous fabrications, imperialism is trying to drive a wedge in relations among communist parties. Such ideological subversions and pressure cannot fail, unfortunately, to influence one sector of the communist movement or another.

From our personal experience we, Portuguese communists, know what the endless enemy sallies are. We are proud of the fact that global and local reaction was not only unable to make our party deviate from the course of implementation of the great ideals and national patriotic objectives and not only failed to weaken or splinter our party, but was also unable to make our party forsake its support of proletarian internationalism.

The PCP has invariably shared an active feeling of solidarity with the other communist and worker parties, with the socialist countries and with all peoples fighting for their national and social liberation. Relations of friendship and fraternal solidarity with the CPSU and the other communist and worker parties in the socialist countries are an inviolable part of our activities. This includes fraternal relations which we maintain and increase with virtually all communist and worker parties in the world.

Such activities reflect our intention to take the necessary steps to put an end to the division between Portuguese and Spanish communists and between the Portuguese and Spanish labor movements, for Portugal has a land boundary only with Spain and the two countries share the same peninsula.

We are feeling the impact of the entire power and treachery of anticommunist propaganda with its poisonous arsenal of ideological and political instruments. In an effort to instill in the minds of the working people in the European countries the idea that socialism is no longer the objective of their future struggle, the reactionary and conservative circles are also spreading fabrications on the "irreversible decline" of the communist movement in capitalist Europe. The Portuguese communists will never accept this lie.

Without overestimating our personal experience, we can say that the PCP is doing everything possible to expose such tendentious "theoretical" fabrications. The development of the European communist parties indicates the falsehood of the claims made by some of our opponents who, a few years ago, predicted the inevitable growth and influence of parties which had taken the path of "Eurocommunism" and the fast "weakening" and "decline" of the Portuguese Communist Party.

The difficulties experienced in the development of the communist movement in capitalist Europe are partially due to objective reasons rooted in economic development, the consequences of the influence of technical progress on the class structure of working people, manpower immigration and other important factors among which we must not forget the fact that the most developed countries have accumulated a significant portion of the added value produced in the more backward countries.

We are deeply convinced, however, that along with objective we must also boldly expose subjective reasons. The communist movement in Western Europe has strong opportunities for growth in the struggle against exploitation and various forms of political oppression practiced by capitalism, the struggle for freedom and democracy and against their surrogates and the struggle for true national independence, which is being harmed in Europe today by American hegemonism and limited by the supranational structures of the EEC, and the struggle for social progress, socialism and peace.

We believe that such means can be found not by granting ideological concessions or by advance speculations but with the help of the creative study of specific situations and new phenomena and the creative search, based on Marxism-Leninism, of solutions to the problems existing in one country or another.

#### A New Impetus for Our Revolution

We, Portuguese communists, are following the path of the April 1974 revolution aware of the tremendous difficulties which face our party and people. For the past 10 years we have been repelling the tireless and fierce attacks of alternating Portuguese governments. The purpose of these attacks is to destroy, one after another, all the democratic gains of the Portuguese people and, in the final account, to abolish the democratic regime which was instituted thanks to the April revolution and was codified in the republic's constitution.

The Portuguese people are countering these attacks, containing them and, occasionally, succeed in defeating them. It has frequently forced the government to resign and frustrated the subversive plans of ruling circles. The people have been able to defend a considerable portion of their gains.

However, the counterrevolution is striking heavy blows at the democratic gains--nationalization, agrarian reform, the rights of the working people and the petty and average agricultural producers, the petty and average industrialists and merchants, the young, the retired and the disabled. The country's culture, democratic system, national independence and sovereignty have been harmed.

Such policies did not bring about a restoration of the country's economy or the material and cultural well-being of the people, as had been promised, but triggered a profound economic, social, political and national crisis. That is why it is so important, before it is too late, to follow a new national political course.

We are living under circumstances in which our party and the other democratic forces which are opposing the government demand legality. Meanwhile, the authorities consistently show their disrespect for legality and promote the violations of the law and criminal practices to the category of governmental activities.

There is a constitution but the government is flouting it openly. The republic's national assembly is passing laws which are ignored by the government. It is annulling steps taken by the government which, however, continues to implement them. Thus, the Administrative Supreme Court promulgated 402 resolutions in favor of the working people in the area of agrarian reform, which the government refuses to implement.

Such a government is not a truly legitimate one. Here arbitrariness, conspiracies and subversive activities are flourishing. The government is openly violating state constitutional stipulations.

As has been repeatedly pointed out, this minority government can remain in power less because of its own strength than because of the inability, hesitations, indecisiveness and hostility which some democratic parties are displaying in connection with the future parliamentary elections. These parties would like to assume responsibility for seeking a different way of development. However, under present circumstances, their desire can be achieved only in such a way as to make suggested alternatives viable. Unless this takes place, such parties will assume a heavy share of responsibility for the difficulties related to the policy of this minority government and for the blows which that government continues to strike against democracy.

We, communists, insist on the absolute need not only for a dialogue but also for understanding and coordination of efforts of democratic parties in the search for alternatives.

Despite existing differences in views, we are doing and will continue to do everything possible to intensify the dialogue and to find areas of agreement on specific matters and in the formulation of alternatives. A constitutional base is available to this effect (excluding early elections) in the national assembly, where there are 140 representatives of democratic parties as against 88 representatives of the social democratic party.

We are doing and will continue to do everything possible in order to find a constitutional solution to this situation. However, such a struggle alone is insufficient. Two other factors play a determining role in the rapprochement among all democratic forces: the struggle waged by the people's masses and the strengthening of our party.

#### The Struggle of the Masses and the Strengthening of the Party

The social democratic government headed by Cavaco Silva is, metaphorically speaking, a government of "lost opportunities" in terms of enhancing the national economy.

The present prime minister is trying to make the public at home and abroad believe that thanks to his policy "social peace" has prevailed in Portugal. Actually, what he has in mind is a type of "social peace" which has been made between the government and the reactionaries belonging to the Portuguese federation of industrialists, between the government and the reactionaries of the federation of Portuguese landowners and between the government and the "yellow" trade unions which are the true servants of the right-wing government and the interests of big capital.

The prime minister declared peace but, at the same time, also declared war, stipulating in his program the intensified exploitation of the working people and the worsening of their living conditions. The working people are responding to the actions of the government by increasing their own militant actions.

The Portuguese Communist Party is supporting the struggle which the working class and all Portuguese working people are waging at numerous enterprises throughout the country. The PCP particularly approved of the popular demonstrations which were held during the last day of January and continued in the last third of February in Porto, Faro and other parts of the country. These demonstrations provided new proof of the will to fight, organization and unity of Portuguese working people, within the framework of their only and true trade union organization--the National Intersyndical.

The PCP supported the militant mood of the supporters of agrarian reform, which was manifested in their courageous and tireless confrontation. Their 10 March protest march in Lisbon proved once again the strength of the working people and met with the support of the population of the capital.

The PCP also welcomed the increased struggle waged by petty and medium landowners against the closing down of slaughterhouses and obstructions to cattle drives, for a normal veterinary service, a new milk production legislation, the observance of the law on neglected lands and land rentals and the increasing activities of such people in defense of their vital interests and against the catastrophic consequences of Portugal's membership in the Common Market.

The PCP welcomes the upsurge of the country's youth movement, which is defending its interests under the circumstances of an increased nationwide discontent and growing class battles for social rights. Strikes, demonstrations and mass meetings of students, which started at the beginning of this school year, have assumed their greatest intensity in the past few years.

The Portuguese women are actively participating in all initiatives, fighting for the right to work, improved living conditions and the observance of laws on important human rights.

All of these mass movements involving the participation of people sharing different political convictions pursue specific objectives. The development of the struggle waged by the masses could become a determining factor and bring about the defeat and the resignation of the present minority government,



as has been the case in the past with majority governments. Furthermore, it could become a decisive prerequisite for reaching an understanding among democratic forces in the formulation of alternatives. In such a case, however, not only the communists but all democrats must realize, on the one hand, the significance of the popular struggle and, on the other, the role of the PCP, for its power and the strengthening of its positions are the most important prerequisites for the defeat of right-wing forces and for finding a truly democratic alternative (the statement by the PCP Central Committee Political Commission, which came out at the beginning of April, stipulates the need for communist participation in the government in order to solve the crisis and settle urgent problems. At the same time, the PCP stated that the communists will support a future democratic government even if they are not part of it, assuming that that government will pursue a policy consistent with the interests of the working people, democracy and the country's national independence.

(By the end of April, President Soares announced that early parliamentary elections will be held on 19 July. At its plenum, which was held at the beginning of May, the PCP Central Committee decided that the communists will participate in such elections within the framework of the new electoral bloc--the coalition for democratic unity (CDE), editor).

Democracy and the gains of the April Revolution would be eliminated if the PCP and the labor and people's movements in Portugal were to surrender under the pressure of the fierce attacks mounted by the counterrevolutionaries over the past 10 years, if the PCP and the Portuguese labor and people's movements would retreat, pushed back by sinister right-wing coalitions and alliances, and if the PCP and the Portuguese mass labor movement would lose faith in their own strength, the working class and the people.

It is an indisputable fact that, always acting together with the working people, always together with the people's masses, defending the rights and interests of the people in the homeland, and listening to the expectations and needs of the working class and the other toiling strata, the PCP is the only Portuguese political party which stands as a firm and reliable barrier guarding the democratic gains of the people, the only fighter which spares no efforts and energy for Portugal once again to take the path opened in April.

No single party can clearly define its future line. As to the PCP, no one doubts that always, unhesitatingly, it will struggle firmly and decisively for democratization and national independence and for building socialism in our country.

Global developments after the Great October Socialist Revolution have proved most convincingly that the world imperialist system is collapsing and that the world socialist system is strengthening and its horizons are broadening.

Contemporary history provides numerous examples of victorious revolutionary movements which, developing under a great variety of social conditions and based on a great variety of ideological postulates, as they progress come closer to the ideas and struggle of the communists.

In struggling against exploitation and imperialist domination and against colonial oppression, dozens of countries have acknowledged, based on their own experience, that building socialism is the only reliable way for ensuring national independence and social progress.

In the complex spectrum of social and political battles of our age, in the final account all roads will lead to socialism. Socialism alone can put an end to the arms race and war. The persistent struggle for peace which is continuously waged by the first socialist state in the world is based on the very nature of the socialist system and the main ideas of the new society. All nations in the world, including the Portuguese, share the peace-loving aspirations of the Soviet Union, although imperialism is trying to poison their minds with the toxin of anti-Sovietism and war propaganda.

The revolutionary process is growing on all continents where profound differences remain in the nature of the stages and degree of socioeconomic development and with profound disparities among the origins, level and course of the struggle waged by the revolutionary forces in each country. These factors trigger an exceptional variety of all kinds of situations and, correspondingly, solutions to problems of social progress and to building a new society.

One of the most significant realities of our time is the fact that along with the communist and worker parties, there are other parties, movements and revolutionary forces which, without formally identifying themselves with the communists, have taken up the objectives and ideals of the communist movement and are using its revolutionary experience.

In the final account, the dominant trend in political development has been and will be not the systematic withdrawal from communist ideals, as some people would like, but precisely the opposite, the consistent closeness to such ideals.

It is a fact that all forces fighting capitalist exploitation, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and national oppression are merging, in the final account, within a powerful stream the main force of which is the international communist and worker movements. The communist and worker parties, thanks to their leading role in the socialist countries and the struggle they wage in the capitalist countries, play a determining role in this process.

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ECONOMIC THEORY AND PRACTICE OF RESTRUCTURING. N. FEDORENKO AND S. SHATALIN  
ANSWER QUESTIONS FROM 'KOMMUNIST'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 87 (signed to press 3 Jun 87) pp 50-58

[Text] We are continuing the publication of answers by economic scientists on problems related to the condition and future developments of the science of economics under the conditions of restructuring (see Nos 5, 6 and 7 for 1987).

N.P. Fedorenko, academician, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium:

1. In the period which preceded the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress negative and stagnation situations appeared in Soviet economic science as in other areas of social life. Political economy found itself in a particularly difficult situation. After a certain revival in the 1960s, when a number of Stalinist dogmatic concepts were criticized, it essentially developed not as a single entity but as a series of trends. Some groups of political economists (Department of Economics, Moscow State University, the Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Economics) became "criticism-proof zones."

The science of economics as well should be blamed to a certain extent for the negative phenomena in social life for its failure to formulate a socioeconomic mechanism for social management, consistent with the new circumstances, and thus to surmount the "hindrance" which restrained the development of production forces and production relations in the country.

For the sake of fairness, however, we must point out that, nonetheless, this science was not sterile and during that period scored a number of scientific successes and formulated basic concepts on most important problems of political economy and economic management practice. Unfortunately, many useful scientific recommendations were neither supported nor accepted by the leadership and their implementation was postponed for the future, which made us lose precious time. We shall cite a few examples in support of this statement.

The idea of converting cost accounting enterprises to self-financing was formulated in the second half of the 1960s. The Central Economic-Mathematical Institute (TsEMI) together with Glavmosavtotrans set up an experiment for the self-financing of that main administration. It was approved by the USSR

Academy of Sciences Department of Economics and the USSR Gosplan. Good results were obtained. The experiment was stopped in the 1970s. Another experiment, at the Akchi Sovkhoz in Kazakhstan, ended tragically, when Khudenko, the initiator of true cost accounting collective contracting, died in prison. The very concept of "self-financing" was considered as almost hostile to and conflicting with the idea of socialism. Today the experiment in self-financing, conducted at the Sumy Machine Building Scientific-Production Association imeni M.V. Frunze and at AvtoVAZ has become the high road of development of cost accounting. Twenty years were lost.

Let us add to this the following important fact. The theory of optimal functioning of the socialist economy, the main idea of which was the possibility and need for the formulation and gradual development of a system for optimal planning and management of the national economy with the use of economic-mathematical methods and on the basis of computers, which was born in the 1960s, was subjected to disparaging criticism by those who held the monopoly on political economy. No conditions were provided for a normal scientific discussion on the concepts of this theory, which were of major and essential significance in the future development of the country's economic mechanism; to a large extent the applied aspects of the theory were ignored in economic practice. The prejudice of many economists and economic managers against economic-mathematical methods and models has still not been surmounted, although such methods and models are the most important weapon in the struggle for the country's economic development and for upgrading the efficiency of public production. This prejudice is widespread in many primary units in the organizational structure, where the thousands of automated control systems which already exist in the country are still being used unsatisfactorily. Powerful computers, which could literally cause an upheaval in management, are sometimes used for most simple accounting operations, payroll accounts, and so on, instead of put to work to solve optimization problems. Enterprises and associations are encouraged to do this by the current system for assessing and planning economic activities, above all planning "on the basis of achievements." Furthermore, this prejudice has entered the higher levels of management as well. Here is an example: the system for intersectorial optimization of the national economy, developed by TsEMI was experimentally tested at the main computer center of the USSR Gosplan and showed very good results. Decrees on its practical application were passed which, however, remained unimplemented, for a number of sectorial ministries stopped providing the necessary information, fearing that the Gosplan, in its optimization computations, could curtail their capital investments. Actually, however, the purpose of optimization is precisely to achieve the necessary results with lower outlays. The damage caused by the rejection of economic-mathematical methods and of the theory of optimal functioning of the economy would be difficult to exaggerate, and not only in terms of the time lost.

Overall, the development of the science of economics in the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s was contradictory. In addition to comments and studies on secondary problems, a theoretical-methodological potential was being accumulated in economic theory, needed in order to interpret the reason for the growing negative phenomena and to formulate the basic trends and measures to be taken for their elimination.

Two basic factors which hinder the processes of development of socialist political economy and the formulation of practical suggestions on the comprehensive improvement of planning and economic incentive may be singled out: underestimating the role of commodity-monetary relations in upgrading the flexibility and dynamism of the socialist economy and a negative attitude toward contemporary economic-mathematical methods and management models, as well as a formalistic attitude toward the use of computers in planning and economic work.

Despite obstructions, in the last 15 to 20 years some progress was made in the formulation of an economic theory and problems of political economy. This includes, above all, the following:

Substantiating the role of forecasting and broadening planning horizons;

Formulating a theory of economic efficiency of utilization of economic resources and finding alternate optimal combinations in the social reproduction process;

Intensifying the theory of socially necessary labor outlays as a base for prices, set in the course of the formulation of the national economic plan;

Studying conditions which would make possible the conversion of the basic production unit to full cost accounting;

Methodological substantiation and study of the processes of interaction among social and economic factors of social life and, particularly, the inverse effect of the social area on public labor productivity;

Substantiating the need for a comprehensive approach to perfecting the economic management system.

Acknowledging the stochastic factor in the characterization of the socialist economic system was a major accomplishment of the science of economics. This concept theoretically substantiated the role of forecasting as an organic feature of the system of socioeconomic planning. The scientific-methodical foundations for forecasting scientific and technical progress were formulated, and so were the principles of program-target planning. Despite some opposition (in particular that of the journal *PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO*) program-target methods were applied, above all in the management of scientific and technical progress.

At the beginning of the 1970s, several economists called for the creation of a comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress and its socioeconomic consequences, for the 1976-1990 period. Today this comprehensive program is part of the planning system. However, a great deal more work remains to be done to convert it not simply into a forecasting but specifically a programming document, which would be considered basic in the formulation of the long-term plans for the country's development.

A series of economic studies were conducted, which made it possible substantially to broaden the range of planning. The principle of continuing

planning--a combination of annual, 5-year and long-term plans--was substantiated.

Problems of optimizing and balancing the national economy, in a state of organic interconnection, were thoroughly developed. The balance should be considered only as the initial step toward optimization, for it can be set for different levels of efficiency. It is only the organic combination of material with financial-credit balancing that can block possible inflationary processes. The point is that upgrading production efficiency and work quality is impossible without balancing material with monetary resources. Their imbalance would make interproduct and intersectorial disproportions in the national economy possible, for solvent demand of sectors and enterprises for raw materials, materials, fuel and equipment largely determines the proportions of national economic planning and procurement and marketing relations. If demand is excessive as a result of surplus funds compared with material resources, capital investments become scattered among construction projects and a scarcity of many material resources needed for current economic activities appears. The increased production of necessary items, under such circumstances, does not lead, as a rule, to the elimination of shortages. A shortage is experienced even in commodities of which the USSR is the largest producer in the world (steel, chemical fertilizers, and so on). Disturbances in material and monetary balancing weakens centralism in economic management.

One of the central problems in economic theory is that of efficiency. As a whole, however, the level of its development remains low and real results have essentially proved to be insignificant. The difficulty is that the true accomplishments of the Soviet science of economics in the area of methods for economic measurements of production efficiency (achievements which are quite substantial, suffice it to mention the names of L.V. Kantorovich, V.S. Nemchinov and V.V. Novozhilov) have been either ignored or subjected to unsubstantiated criticism, and some of its concepts, if applied at all in economic management practice, have been applied half-heartedly and inconsistently. This was greatly influenced by the monopoly status of the concept of the overall or absolute efficiency of capital investments and new equipment.

One final example: an authoritative interdepartmental commission drafted a comprehensive method for assessing the efficiency of public production and individual economic steps. The commission was set up in 1983 by joint decision of the GKNT and the USSR Academy of Sciences. The method is based on the principles of a national economic approach to assessing efficiency. This was reflected in converting from the methods of statistical evaluation of the efficiency of capital investments and new equipment in an individual year to methods which take into consideration economic dynamics which reflect not only changes in outlays but also results of output, i.e., methods which take into consideration the effectiveness of quality and usefulness of goods to the consumer.

The method, however, was violently opposed, for it encroached on the holy of holies: the outlay concept of planned price setting and the differentiation among standards of efficiency of capital investments in the individual economic sectors, and the priority of current over long-term efficiency. In

the view of the then managers of central planning departments, it undermined the foundations of the planning system. Now, after the 27th Party Congress and the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the arguments brought forth by the critics of the comprehensive method no longer seem all that obvious. However, the power of inertia of traditional thinking and the monopolizing of the theory of efficiency remain quite strong to this day. Essentially, the attitude the comprehensive program on the part of the departments remains unchanged. We must go back to the consideration of the principles of the comprehensive program for the sake of their extensive application in economic practice, and the sooner the better.

The view that commodity-monetary relations are an alien element of the economic mechanism, which should disappear the moment society "learns" how to plan "urbi et orbi," which has existed for a number of decades, is being gradually eliminated. It was proved that planning and commodity-monetary relations are two sides of the same coin, two attributes of the socialist economic mechanism. Under conditions of democratic centralism, commodity-monetary relations are necessary, for it is precisely they that determine management outlines, ensure feedback and the influence of the "lower" levels of management on decisions made "at the top."

This became possible thanks to a new understanding of the role and function of the category of socialist price, which is a dialectical combination of two aspects: social usefulness (national economic effect) of commodities and socially necessary outlays. This interpretation of the price enables us to convert it into an important guideline in the activities of local projects which ensure the correctness of correlating outlays with results under the conditions of administering-economic autonomy.

It was proved that limit costs (particularly in the case of extracting sectors) approximate such prices. This, in particular, substantially improved our ideas on the categories of rentals and assessments of environmental pollution as major components of social costs and national economic results from the utilization of nature. The familiar conclusion of the unity and interdependence between plan and prices is becoming increasingly acknowledged. Basic scientific concepts have been formulated on means of organically linking centralized planning with local autonomy through long-term planning standards and evaluations, which directly appear in the course of solving planning problems.

All of these concepts, in addition to the new regulations on linking wages to results of labor activities, the role of the financial mechanism and the uniform nature of payments for assets, interest on loans and standards of efficiency of capital investments enabled us scientifically to substantiate the concept of full (real) cost accounting.

It was on this basis that a new understanding was developed of the planned nature of social development. Today planning is conceived on a broader basis, as the conscious advancement of the system of production relations, and formulation of basic development trends, rates and ratios. Details in these areas are being developed within the framework of direct contacts among economic projects.

A vast array of studies in the area of the economic assessment of natural resources was completed in the country in the 1970s. Unfortunately, extremely little use was made of the results of these studies in improving the system of cost accounting relations in the area of the use of nature. No payments were introduced for the use of land and water resources in agriculture due to the active opposition of the State Committee on Prices. However, extensive use began to be made in planning practices of the assessment of natural resources and output of nature-exploiting sectors. This method, which was accepted by CEMA, is being fully applied except...by the country which developed it.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the most important prerequisite for the use of full cost accounting is paying for all utilized resources, including not only raw materials and semifinished goods, and so on, but also for productive capital and natural, labor and information resources. Paying for all resources used by socialist enterprises and associations would enable us to manage the economy more efficiently, in accordance with the requirements formulated by the party at the present stage. The basic methodological problems of such payments have been solved and now it becomes a question of their practical application.

In recent years economists have paid increased attention to the social aspects of economic development. Let us particularly note a number of accomplishments in the study of distribution relations, living standards and people's well-being. A number of most important categories and concepts has been defined and applied. A theory of social consumption funds was developed, as a means of satisfying social priority needs, consistent with socially guaranteed standards.

An integrated system of models was formulated for the study and forecasting of the people's well-being, based on new theoretical postulates; it enables us to implement three methodological concepts in prognosticating the living standard of the population; they can be described as "industrial," "consumer," and "distribution."

Finally, we cannot fail to point out achievements in the formulation of a mathematical apparatus for optimizing economic processes, taking above all into consideration the fact that the optimization approach in economic-mathematical modeling enabled us to give an accurate meaning to many concepts considered important in economics: correlation between outlays and results, correlation between the influence of different factors in computing commodity prices and various payments, and evaluations in correlating outlays in time (standards of capital investment efficiency, etc.). Many mathematical methods of optimizing, developed by Soviet scientists, are being extensively used throughout the world.

2. Now as to the most topical theoretical problems, the solution of which could and should contribute to the acceleration of Soviet socioeconomic development.

Revolutionary changes demand serious scientific substantiations in a number of key aspects.



First, we need a scientific study of the dialectics of production forces and production relations and superstructural social relations.

Today many problems are reduced to the fact that production relations have fallen behind the development of production forces. This explanation seems more or less accurate only when considered from the abstract viewpoint. It cannot be confirmed through specific studies. The reasons for stagnation are found not only in the economic system but in superstructural relations as well. The slogan of democratization justifiably proceeds from this fact. The study of the reasons for stagnation should be taken beyond the narrow framework of political economic analysis. Such an analysis of reasons is possible only in the general study of social sciences.

Second, we need a scientific study and definition of means of ensuring the humanistic trend in the development of technology and production organization under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution.

Third, the scientific study of the real social forces which interact in solving the problems of accelerated socioeconomic development is exceptionally relevant.

For decades this question was not even raised but replaced by proclaiming the moral-political and ideological unity of the society. This unity, however, is contradictory. Furthermore, we are not facing exclusively the nonantagonistic confrontation among social forces, for in that case the concepts of revolutionary change and uncompromising struggle in the course of restructuring would become meaningless. As to the economic aspects, the principle here is that "that which is good for the state should be good for each economic unit," which provides a key to developing an active system of incentives for efficient work.

Many other political-economic problems are among the most relevant. We must agree with L.I. Abalkin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, who called for the study of the entire variety of forms of socialist ownership, the laws governing the development of such forms, etc.

In the area of specific economic studies, we must reformulate and solve the question of drafting a nationwide comprehensive program for improving the mechanism for socialist economic management and the gradual implementation of this program, which has been repeatedly posed in recent years. The outlines of such a program were drafted and have been presented in a number of works without, however, generating in their time an interest on the part of planning-economic and directive-issuing authorities.

The country needs a uniform system for optimizing the functioning of the individual blocks within the national economy (associations, regions, sectors and the national economy as a whole), both vertically and horizontally. It should stipulate the organic combination of models of centralized planning and elements of the economic management mechanism. In other words, it should be not only a system of plan computations but should also include standards, methods, indicators of economic production incentive and standards governing relations among individual economic units. The development of such a system

is an exceptionally difficult problem, the solution of which will call for the efforts of large groups of researchers. However, a certain scientific background for its solution already exists.

In this connection most serious attention should be paid to problems of material-technical and software support of the economic mechanism of the future: its present state is obviously unsatisfactory and archaic. The urgent need exists to go back to problems of developing a nationwide automated system for information gathering and processing for purposes of accountability, planning and management of the national economy (OGAS) and a uniform state network of computer centers (YeGSVTs), functioning on a higher level. This will ensure the efficient development of local and national networks of electronic communications, software compatibility of computers produced in the country and organizing the industrial production of software for all types of computers, including personal. Unquestionably, an end must be put to the "information hunger" which Academician A.I. Anchishkin discussed in KOMMUNIST (No 5, 1987). Economists cannot provide such comprehensive and practical recommendations for use by planning and economic authorities without comprehensive information on processes taking place in the economy.

S.S. Shatalin, department head, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and Forecasting of Scientific and Technical Progress, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member:

1. In principle, I agree that the science of economics found itself unprepared to give constructive answers to basic questions formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress, for a number of reasons; nonetheless, I would like to caution against any zealous self-scouring. We must not judge of the overall condition of the science of economics by the level of insufficiently updated textbooks which provide an abstract concept of the true possibilities of economic theory. The development of this science is quite difficult to measure; here the average indicators are as uninformative as would be the average temperature of all patients in a hospital. In the past 20 years a number of economists have substantiatedly criticized the structural policy and called for a radical reform in the economic mechanism on the basis of broadening economic rights and responsibilities of enterprises and associations, and developing full cost accounting and self-financing; they have substantiated the need for a radical price reform and for making payments for the use of all types of production resources—material, labor, natural, etc. Practical experience proved that the science of economics can develop constructively if the practical managers of the national economy are interested in finding out the truth, however bitter it may be.

2. The science of economics must apply a truly scientific methodology of knowledge. It must not consider axiomatic claims which are yet to be proved; it must no longer study socialism by analogy with capitalism. The socialist economy is a planned and consciously controlled system, the purpose of which is the optimal (in the strictly scientific meaning of the term) utilization of limited material, labor, natural and information resources. For that reason the category of optimality is the pivot in developing a constructive socialist political economy. This approach--based on optimality--must imbue all planning practices related to economic and social development. Hence the need

to concentrate studies on the problems of the most efficient utilization of resources. We also need the intensified development of relations of socialist ownership and must find ways of surmounting the alienation of the workers from it. Extensive studies must be made which would help us shape a motivational mechanism for efficient socialist economic management, which would be more efficient than that of the West. This is a strategic task of socialism, the implementation of which must be achieved through a radical reform in the management system.

Research must be focused also on distribution relations in the socialist economy and a search for an optimal correlation between wages and social consumption funds, which largely determines the dialectical unity between economic efficiency and social justice.

It is high time to review the concept of economic growth and to abandon the classification of the national economy into production and nonproduction spheres.

3. In our view, this question leads to the assumption that the economic mechanism is not the basic structure of economic life in our society. This view has been held by some economists according to whom improvements in the economic mechanism affect only secondary forms of economic relations. Actually, a radical reform also means revolutionary changes in the system of socialist production relations, the strategic line of which is the actual transformation of the worker into the master of publicly owned means of production and the creation of a motivational mechanism which would ensure the most efficient utilization of social production resources. Production resources do not exist outside the economic mechanism. For example, a greater or lesser autonomy of primary production cost accounting units means relations of socialist ownership of different extent within the range of the state sector of the socialist economy. The same could be said of planning and distribution relations and other deeper layers of the socialist production and economic structure.

4. The party has raised the question of radically restructuring the overall system of socialist economic management. Radical changes must be made in socialist ownership relations, the correlation between planning and commodity-monetary relations, distribution relations, etc. In our view, it would be simplistic to single out some kind of "main" aspect of this entity. However, precise mention is made of the utilization of individual groups and elements of production relations: we must broaden the economic power of the primary units, strengthen proprietary motivations and, at the same time, really strengthen the system of centralized management of socioeconomic development. Separate mention should be made of the more extensive use of cooperatives and individual labor activity, for to this day their role in the development of the socialist economy has been clearly underestimated, which has adversely affected the satisfaction of social needs. Here, as elsewhere, we must proceed not from preset dogmata but from the study of the actual socioeconomic situation and the level of socialization of production and labor.

6. Under socialism full cost accounting (self-financing is merely its synonym) means that the reproduction unit of the economy, i.e., the unit which

produces goods or services, carries out all current and investment activities with its own funds and credits. Naturally, it must be a question not of applying cost accounting in all economic units but precisely in the reproduction units--associations and enterprises.

If they truly operate on the basis of full cost accounting, any cost accounting practiced by sectorial industrial ministries would be economic nonsense. The concept of full cost accounting does not reject the possibility for a new enterprise to be created not only through the financial resources of the state budget but also the funds of a functioning association (enterprise), either by itself or in cooperation with the state or other state and cooperative enterprises.

Cost accounting should not be pitted against the centralized management of the economy. It is an organic element of the economic management system, built on the principles of democratic centralism. Centralized management determines the most important boundaries within which the production units practice full cost accounting.

7. Essentially, the basic elements of the formula for social justice under socialism are already contained in this question. It involves distribution consistent with the quantity and quality of labor, a widespread system of social guarantees based on the specific nondepartmental utilization of social consumption funds, a not simply full but economically and socially efficient and effective population employment, and real participation of the working people in the management of socialist property on all levels of the national economic hierarchy. Social justice unquestionably implies also the increased orientation of economic growth toward upgrading the people's well-being and solving crucial social problems and actually surmounting the residual principle of allocating resources for the development of the social sphere in all areas of production of commodities and population services.

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## FINANCES AND PRICES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 87 (signed to press 3 Jun 87) pp 59-62

[Article by Anatoliy Nikolayevich Komin, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The reform of the economic mechanism and the conversion to economic management methods are impossible without restructuring the price setting system. However, we must not separate our study of price policy from national economic realities. The false idea still prevails of the separate functioning of finances and prices in the economy and the possibility of having "good prices" and "poor finances" and vice versa. This concept is based on underestimating the role of commodity-monetary relations within the socialist economic management system and, in particular, the laws of monetary circulation.

The excessive centralization of finances and price setting triggered the illusion that state financial resources are inexhaustible and the confidence that any disparity in prices could be compensated with subsidies. The use of ever new types of subsidies was considered a temporary expedient. It was believed that they could be eliminated by lowering production costs. Nonetheless, they actually increased rapidly. Such was the case of the subsidies which originated in 1967 to compensate for expenditures related to the purchasing of agricultural commodities for industrial purposes. Currently such subsidies have reached 6.8 billion rubles and are continuing to increase. Their share is particularly high in the prices of new types of agricultural equipment. For example, the cost of a new Don-1,500 combine is 32,000 rubles for industry but its price to agricultural enterprises is 12,500 rubles.

The problem of finding financial resources needed to cover expenditures related to price disparities worsens with every passing year. The budget is being burdened by redistribution functions. The financial possibilities of the state for solving social problems and production accumulations are limited. They are based on the turnover tax, and profits from consumer goods and means of production used for the creation of material goods and services consumed by the population. The point is that both profits and turnover taxes as included in the prices of goods for industrial use are not balanced by the same parameters in consumer goods and services. Some of the accumulations which are materialized in goods for industrial use do not leave the production area but are used within it. That is why a reduction in the net income

(profit and turnover tax) in consumer goods cannot be compensated with corresponding increases in goods for industrial use.

As we know, the sale of foodstuffs is subsidized. In other words, food not only does not contribute any revenue to the state budget but is sold at a loss. Most services are also provided at a loss, for which reason a heavy financial burden is assumed by noncommestible goods and the liquor industry. In order to ensure low food prices despite growing production costs, the state has been forced to raise the prices of a number of durable goods in order to have the necessary revenue and maintain the financial balance of the national economy. Prices of "tax-heavy" goods (automobiles, carpets, jewelry, imported goods and some others) have reached their maximal level and problems of marketing some such items have become aggravated.

Increased income from liquor sales has always led to controversial consequences. In the long term, such sales are paralleled by major social and economic losses. The steps taken in the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism are absolutely necessary. Nonetheless, their adoption brought to light a set of problems related to creating the state budget, for which reason it was possible to ignore the nature of "alcohol money." We know that in order to compensate for the drastic impact from reducing the production of liquor on the volume of trade, the sale of other commodities, juices and nonalcoholic beverages in particular, increased. In itself, however, this does not solve the problem of creating sources of financing, for the net income included in the prices of such commodities is substantially lower than of the commodities they replace. Unless a lowering of budget revenue is not compensated out of other sources, the printing of money to cover budget expenditures or a respective curtailment in financing the accumulations fund and other governmental requirements become inevitable.

The widespread use of subsidies distorts national economic proportions. It prevents the proper assessment of production efficiency and unity between collective and social interests. The application of the new principles of economic management and self-financing will require a corresponding price restructuring. It will be necessary objectively to assess the size of the net income within each sector, which will ensure prerequisites for self-financing, and reflect more fully rental payments and the principle of payments for resources. At the same time, we must eliminate the mathematical approach and the structuring of prices on the basis of the compensation for outlays and guaranteeing necessary profits. The price must become the yardstick not only of outlays but also of the efficiency, consumer features and quality of output. Price setting must include to a significantly greater extent balancing the production of a given item with social needs, and of supply with demand.

The most important problem which combines financial with price aspects is that of inflation in the socialist economy. It can be said that so far this topic was the subject of a peculiar taboo and was never discussed openly. Nonetheless, its relevance is determined by the very existence of commodity-monetary relations. Attempts to ignore them only worsened inflation processes. However, we stubbornly refused to deal with them as with some other economic realities.

Inflation means depreciation of paper money and a drop in its purchasing power. This phenomenon is inherent in monetary circulation based on paper valuables. It would be pertinent to recall Marx's statement on the specific nature of circulation of paper money unlike a system based on precious metals. Whereas the latter maintains the balance between money in circulation and commodities through the influx and outflow of money converted into treasure, paper money does not have this feature. If paper money is threatened with devaluation as a result of excessive circulation, the price of commodities compared with their nominal value increases and the disproportion between the mass of money and commodities increases as well. The depreciation of paper money in economic life depends on market conditions and on balancing production with consumption.

Inflation is manifested above all in price increases. One cannot deny this process in our economy, which occurred despite measures aimed at its prevention or at least its slowdown. Purchase prices and prices in the fuel-raw material sectors increased quickly. The same occurred in transportation rates, services and construction. Despite the policy of stable retail prices, they increased as well.

Price dynamics was frequently ignored in the study of economic problems, for which reason no serious study was made of the reasons on which it was based. To the contrary, many of the studies on price setting problems were firmly based on the postulate according to which the laws of the dynamics of price levels under socialism stipulate that prices drop as labor productivity increases and as production costs decline.

This is a simplified view on the connection between cost (socially necessary labor outlays) and price as the monetary form of value. It may seem on the surface that if labor productivity increases and production costs drop, prices should drop as well. In practice, however, everything is different. Wages increase and labor productivity goes up. That is why production costs may drop only to the extent to which increased labor productivity outstrips the growth of wages. But then wages must be raised not only in material production but in the nonproduction area as well. With the existing correlation between paid and free services in the nonproduction sphere, increasing efficiency in the production area and additional profits from financing could become a source of revenue. Lowering the price level is possible only with a rather strict curtailment of wages in the production and nonproduction areas. However, this presumes abandoning the active use of wages as an instrument in influencing the economy. Naturally, here it is a question of a general law of the dynamics of the price level as a whole and not of the dynamics of prices of individual commodities, particularly newly manufactured ones. The lowering of costs as series and mass production is developed and as technology is perfected provides real conditions for lowering the prices of such goods.

A study of the history of price setting in our country does not substantiate the law that the level of prices as a whole may drop. Frequent references are made to the 1949-1954 period, when retail prices dropped with every passing year. However, this was a specific period in the development of the postwar economy, when all reserves created as a result of economic growth were

channeled into upgrading the well-being of the people by reducing retail prices. The study of such specific conditions cannot be made within the limits of this article, although some of their features should be noted. First, price drops began after the 1947 monetary reform with a simultaneous significant (averaging 300 percent) increase in firm state retail prices compared with 1940. Second, the conversion from a war to peace-time economy created conditions for an annual substantial accumulation of commodity stocks. Third, something which is forgotten by many, is that the lowering of prices was combined with floating major annual loans, which have still not been repaid by the state, as well as measures related to restricting wages and revising output norms. Although retail prices declined, nonetheless they did go down to the 1940 level.

Today paper money is not countered by a commodity mass whose volume and variety would be consistent with solvent demand. The faster growth of market prices, which balance supply with demand, indicates that inflation was manifested in higher state prices only partially. Another form of inflation was scarcity, which became a serious problem of our economy. As a whole, it reflects the lack of balance between the purchasing power and production potential. This phenomenon is a confirmation of difficulties in the financial system and in monetary circulation.

Some economists have cited, in justification of such negative phenomena, that demand in a socialist economy must always outstrip supply. However, balancing commodity demand with supply is a mandatory prerequisite for a healthy economy. The role of the consumer can be really increased only after the industrial and consumer markets have become fully saturated. Financial and price setting policies play a particular role in the solution of such problems.

Possibilities of needlessly generating and accumulating funds and monetary oversupply must be prevented. The financial and banking systems have the problem of developing within the economy conditions for "hard money," a situation which makes money difficult to earn but easy to convert into the necessary commodities and services.

The way to solve this problem is to bring order in the utilization of funds in the national economy on all levels. Above all, attention must be paid to capital construction. For many years the increased volume of unfinished construction blocked funds; plans for the commissioning of projects remained unfulfilled. This resulted in extending the period of convertibility, which required additional emission of money, initially in a cashless form. This process, which may appear harmless in terms of cash circulation, affects it directly. Wages for work already done have already been paid while the results are postponed indefinitely. In the final account, this leads to an imbalance between paid funds and the mass of commodities. The same could be said of the accumulation of above-norm reserves of material facilities, which are a dead weight for the economy.

At the same time, we must soberly realize that it is impossible to strengthen monetary circulation without improving the retail price system and without pursuing a more flexible policy in this area. That is why today taking into



consideration in prices the extent to which the volume of production and need, and supply and demand are balanced becomes particularly important.

The struggle against inflationary processes in the economy becomes difficult if we deny the very fact of their existence. Their realistic assessment is a prerequisite for success. The high rates of inflation which have taken place at some stages in the economic development of our country and in foreign socialist countries reflect the existence of serious financial-credit disproportions. In a socialist economy one can and must control the inflationary processes, direct them and promptly take steps in the areas of prices, wages and pensions, which improve the population's living standard. We must not find ourselves in the tail end of actual economic processes but anticipate, outstrip and direct them.

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## INITIATIVE IN SOCIALIST CULTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 87 (signed to press 3 Jun 87) pp 63-71

[Article by Sergey Yuryevich Rumyantsev and Aleksey Petrovich Shulpin, candidates of art studies]

[Text] The live creativity of the masses is the main feature which will ensure success in the implementation of the acceleration program formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress. The intensification of democracy in Soviet society is both the most important condition and result of the development of the creativity of the people. "...Under the conditions of restructuring," the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum stipulated, "when the task of enhancing the human factor has become so urgent, we must return once again to Lenin's formulation of the problem of maximal democracy of the socialist system, under which a person feels himself both owner and creator."

Initiative is actively manifested in a great variety of areas. The "problem field" of culture is no exception. Here a kind of knot develops in the great variety of steps in which very different and seemingly unrelated initiatives merge. In the final account, their common purpose is to eliminate gaps and disproportions in culture and in the development of its individual areas, which lead to the weakening or even loss of important links in the chain of the living process.

### Cultural Poles

In analyzing the current situation in culture and the prospects of its immediate future, we usually single out factors such as urbanization, development of systems of mass communication and, of late, computerization, on the threshold of which we are. The growth and intensifying interaction among such processes lead to an intensive restructuring of the human habitat, the systems of social relations and qualitative changes in everyday human activities and means of satisfying requirements, stimulating the appearance of new types of everyday culture. All of these changes are objective and natural and, in the long range, lead to the elimination of the essential social and cultural disparities between town and country and between physical and mental labor, and to the shaping of a socially homogenous society.

All of this, however, is in the future. For the time being, the city is a kaleidoscope of a complex conglomerate of various life modes and styles. This mixture of "all and everything" enables sociologists to speak of the "multiple polarity" of its cultural environment and the "polycultural" awareness of the city dweller.

A typical feature of a big modern city is the drastic demarcation among human areas of activities. The cultural center finds itself separated from residential ("bedroom") microrayons. People employed at large enterprises or big institutions have difficulty in considering themselves parts of some kind of collective entity. The same can be said of the residents of today's microrayons, streets or "kilometer-long" housing developments. Increasingly, it is one's own apartment, the small family group, that become the real entity, understandable to and consistent with the nature of the city dweller. The television, radio and ever better sound (and, in the immediate future, video) equipment and personal computers convert the apartment into some kind of autonomous cultural center. Obviously, this process will continue to develop incrementally, making culture increasingly "intimate." Man has acquired the real opportunity of displaying extensive initiative in developing an individual comfortable cultural environment. Under our very eyes social life is being frustrated, deprived of its scope and specific forms. The one-sided emphasis in the development of everyday culture has been noted by sociologists whose conclusions are quite alarming. The only conditions which have been created in an ordinary urban microrayon encourage passive recreation only. All that people have in common here is that they live in the same place and time. Contacts among individuals are limited to observing formalities and neighborly cooperation is reduced to formal contacts and small favors.

Traditional centers of social life--clubs, houses of culture--are virtually absent in the new cities and the "bedroom" microrayons of the old cities. Those which exist have essentially become centers for professional art (movies, concerts, shows), conference halls and places where official ceremonies are held. Many palaces of culture, built in recent years, duplicate in form and content (as much as possible)...the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. Their huge halls and glittering marble foyers have been designed more as meeting places for thousands of people than for daily club activities. Quite naturally, they have found themselves in a kind of space between cultures: they have not become temples of "high" professional art and yet they badly tolerate "small" culture (group, home, intimate). They have left daily life behind but have not come to art. It is no accident that the CPSU Central Committee passed a special decree "On Measures to Improve the Utilization of Clubs and Sports Facilities," and that the Central Committee political reports to the 27th Congress emphasized that "We make poor use of what is already at our disposal--palaces, clubs, sports stadiums and parks."

Another difficulty of the present situation is the continuing differentiation and separation among various types of culture. "High" art is separate from entertainment and amateur activities; a variety of forms of folklore are considering themselves ever more actively as professional, claiming their right to special status. This applies not only to rural areas but precisely to large cities and youth circles. The energetic steps taken in recent years to involve the creative associations in developing a leisure-time industry, a

repertory for vocal-instrumental and dance groups and to provide practical daily guidance of amateur artistic collectives, rather than sporadic "cultural sponsorship" have not yielded any noticeable, not to mention qualitative, change in the situation so far.

Another subject of concern is the intensifying trend toward independent age-group subcultures (children's, high school, university, "over 30," etc.). In answer to the really existing sociopsychological features and needs of age groups, the theory and practice of management strengthen and, occasionally, artificially encourage this process, which is visibly promoting a break in and disrupts the continuity and organic development of culture.

The division between consumers and producers of culture and the high-quality industrial manufacturing of cultural values and their dissemination through mass communication media are essentially the model which is being offered and implemented.

Not so long ago, such a trend in the development of culture was considered entirely natural, answering the needs of society and the individual. It has become obvious today however that this model, despite all efforts, frequently gets us nowhere and that the process of developing an "intimate" culture, which is real and natural, clashes with the needs of society. In short, a new problem arises.

#### The Place of Residence Is a Place of Creativity

Thus, even a brief analysis indicates that initiative has largely vanished from the traditional centers for cultural intercourse.

Different interpretations are given to this reality, such as for example that it is a shortcoming of educational and mass cultural work at places of residence. Lively discussions are held on problems of organizing and shaping "interdwelling" spaces ("the courtyard problem"), educational work with adolescents ("the townhouse problem"), the creation of microrayon agitation centers, children's and sports grounds, etc. On the departmental and administrative level, all of this is presented as solving problems of recreation, entertainment, health improvement, struggle against drunkenness and prevention of antisocial behavior. In our view, these most topical social problems cannot be solved separately, without developing an integral human habitat, consistent with the current stage in the development of society, and without the role which man himself must play in this process, something which will be discussed later.

It is usually considered that the urban environment is made by professional architects, designers, painters, builders and specialized governmental organizations and services. Their purpose is to provide the individual with a space which he makes habitable. The very term "habitable" seems to indicate an admission of the need for an active principle. Usually, however, it is reduced to the use of something already given and presented, albeit quite delicately and precisely, but nonetheless something invented by someone on the outside. In 1925 Le Corbusier built not far from Bordeaux (France) the commune of Pessac, which consisted of a strict play of geometric forms. The

commune changed in 35 years. Windows were made smaller, open yards were fenced, roofs appeared over balconies, and the free space between houses was built up. The clean geometric abstraction disappeared, pushed out by the desire for individualization and comfort. Architectural specialists usually cite this case as an example of the conflict between the artist as producer and the residents as consumer. Actually, we have here an example of interaction between the artist and the individual, between art and daily life or, in other words, a development of the natural life of architecture in time. Such interaction, however, appears when the suggested architectural form proves to be open to initiative.

The extensive movement for the public landscaping of cities, which has developed of late, so far essentially contemplates exclusively giving physical assistance to builders and communal services. Thus, the collective of the VAZ took the initiative of working no less than 4 free days on building sociocultural projects. This initiative was adopted by many towns which set up headquarters for the organization of such work and where tens of thousands of volunteers went to the building sites. Unquestionably, all of this brings tangible benefits. In a number of cases it is precisely and above all the building of new cultural projects, the development of the material base for cultural services, that are needed. Under the Soviet system 1,290 new cities appeared in the USSR, including more than 140 in the past 10 years. Nearly half of them were built in previously uninhabited places. Their creation was the result of the industrial development of new areas. The residual principle of allocating resources for the development of the sociocultural sphere, which was condemned by the 27th Party Congress, deprived the population of these new cities of the minimal necessary network of cultural and art establishments.

The 12th 5-year plan calls for building 511 rayon houses of culture and 5,660 clubs in rural areas. By the year 2000 another 4,700 parks and 900 cultural centers must be completed in the cities. Although important and necessary, this is merely an element of the cultural environment rather than all of it. Sociological studies indicate that even cities with an adequately developed network of cultural and art institutions do not offer a rich cultural environment which man vitally needs. Traditional approaches, based only on the offering of ready-made cultural goods, are revealing their limitations. Conflicts inevitably break out, blank spots are formed, and the lack of this, that and the other becomes apparent.... Time creates new needs and it is impossible to satisfy them every time quickly and comprehensively only with the facilities of specialized agencies and institutions. It is precisely at this point that the spontaneous creativity of the masses is manifested, quite actively at that.

Original manifestations of popular culture in a contemporary megalopolis have been described as "pocket parks" by journalists, ethnographers and folklorists. For many years, regularly, on their own initiative, masses of citizens--former inhabitants of rural and suburban areas, gather in parks in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Novgorod and other cities. On the surface, such "pockets" look like nonsensical mixtures of multiplicities of rural folklore traditions, ordinary amateur club activities, concerts, games, contests, celebrations, dances, entertainments, shows, contacts and creativity. Such "pockets" look strange, as though disturbing the established concepts of urban

culture, something like villages within a city. Actually, they are a reality of the culture of the modern city, backed by the problem of the rural migrant, a problem which, in many parts of the country, has assumed a rather grave sociocultural nature. Our biggest cities are largely expanding as a result of new arrivals from the countryside. Thus, in the past 10 years, every year the number of residents of the Belorussian capital has been growing by 30,000 to 40,000 people.

Even the hereditary urban dweller is not very consistent in his attachment to the urban way of life in its "unadulterated" aspect. He tries to avoid noisy streets and areas, gravitating toward garden lots where he can build a tiny house, a cottage, a barn or a greenhouse. He is becoming an increasingly noticeable figure in the country's economy and has already brought to life a specific, semiurban and semirural lifestyle.

The "pocket park" is not a relic of rural culture or an indicator of its "amazing durability," as is frequently claimed. It is an environment for direct contacts, triggered by the real need and collective efforts of the people, whose enterprising activities are not within the current system of cultural centers, for one reason or another. Nor does it fit within the world of intimate private life, into the "space" of the individual apartment.

Today there is increasing talk of the appearance of similar but, this time, already pure urban youth "pockets"--song and dance circles gathering in streets and embankments. A space is created on boulevards, around benches, within which we hear lively performances by students of folk music and songs performed by their authors, and where modern shows are staged.

The gardening cooperatives as well are not simply an addition to family or national food supplies but places of active recreation and useful application of "excess" energy, which remains unused with the sedentary way of life which has become so widespread today. In the majority of cases, once again this meets the need to leave behind one's apartment and the strictly regulated way of life, and go into the world of creative interrelationship with nature and with a different group of people, unrelated to family and colleagues at work. A rather peculiar culture circulates in this vast environment, which is rapidly developing--a conglomerate of industrial and farm knowledge, inventions, practical experience, original ideas, prejudices, customs, habits, universally accepted and new forms of artistic creativity, etc. Many examples of such enterprise can be cited.

Item: Women employed at the reception center of an urban laundry enterprise have created a complete winter garden consisting of a variety of houseplants and populated by exotic birds;

Item: With increasing frequency house clubs, public libraries, open workshops, theaters and other circles for intercourse are appearing in urban premises and rural homes;

Item: In recent years an original center for graphic art, demanding no material outlays, has appeared in the Bittsevskiy forest park, in Moscow. On Sundays, in good weather, amateur and professional painters have come here to

display their works, to communicate with each other and with the public, publicly to display their art of creating an "instant" portrait of anyone who so wishes and, finally, simply to relax and to enjoy the sun, the wind, the green grass and the trees. The same features attracted the public which could not only look and discuss but also purchase works for a small price. Not so long ago, such "outdoor painting parties" moved to Izmaylovo.

All of this may seem accidental, insignificant, on the periphery of culture. Essentially, however, it is an original way of solving an important problem of restoring the necessary elements of the cultural environment. It is a question of the social forms of culture which have been part of the foundations of socialist culture from its very beginning.

### 'Non-Ordinary' Way of Life

The victory of the Great October Revolution opened a tremendous potential for people's creativity in all areas of industrial and social life. The revolutionary renovation encompassed the area of social life we are discussing here. People's Commissar Lunacharskiy wrote: "Now, side by side with the worker way of life in the strict meaning of the word, i.e., the untouched legacy of the past, we are also witnessing a tremendous new way of life unquote, i.e., a part of the way of life of the worker which takes him far from ordinary activities. Our way of life is by no means ordinary. Our way of life is active, finding its way wherever the new life is being built." What A.V. Lunacharskiy had in mind was an entire system of centers of social life: clubs for workers and Red Army men, houses of education, public libraries, a tempestuously spreading network of centers for the elimination of illiteracy, circles, studios, cooperative cafeterias, tearooms, communal houses, and the first worker-peasant recreation houses and sanatoriums....

This type of new social life clearly conflicted with ordinary life in the strict meaning of the term--the old home, courtyard, barracks, and apartment way of life which contained the entire pain, suffering, poverty and mediocrity and unsettled nature of the old life and which, for understandable reasons, was changing slowly, sometimes with painful slowness. Conversely, the social way of life developed at a headlong pace, saturated with unparalleled artistic aspects, such as meetings-concerts, agitation gatherings, mass street performances, political carnivals, and revolutionary ceremonies and rituals. Even political and labor actions (demonstrations, communist subbotniks) acquired the nature of expanded activities which included a variety of entertainment, music and artistic elements.

Particularly impressive were "red calendar" celebrations, which embodied the essential features of the new social way of life.

A march, a military parade and new revolutionary ceremonies were organically combined with carnivals, with performances and with the mass singing of revolutionary songs and chants. Meetings and demonstrations turned into traditional festivals with songs and dances and trips out of town. All strata of the new society participated in such activities--workers, peasants, Red Army men, employees, government figures, party members, Komsomol members, Pioneers, adults, young people and children. The integrity of such

celebrations was provided not only by the common mood but also by the natural unity within the urban environment. All of this contributed to the activeness of the masses and encouraged enterprise.

#### New Look at the Old

A great deal of what we can see today indicates a revival, under the new conditions, of independent sociocultural forms. The importance of familiar phenomena appears in a different light in a number of recent initiatives. Let us consider two of them: amateur theaters and singing clubs.

Most frequently amateur theater is considered an area for the application of educational efforts, a kind of school for aesthetic education and upbringing. However, the activities of such collectives are complex. The contemporary amateur theater is a specific environment, a complex and comprehensive process within which a variety of activities become interwoven (not exclusively artistic), brought to life by a variety of interests, needs, and objectives of the generation living in the age of the scientific and technical revolution. The aspiration of amateur theater groups to have at their disposal even a miniscule, an inadequate premise and to move out of the huge parade halls or the palaces of culture, is by no means accidental.

Such theaters are turning into original home and cultural centers, where people spend a significant portion of their lives. This precisely is the environment in which they live, become acquainted with one another, become friends, fall in love, marry, relax, entertain themselves, educate their children and themselves, learn, argue, and create. Here a particular way of life develops, a spiritual atmosphere imbued with collectivism, with its own ceremonies and rituals. Here way of life and art, intercourse and creativity coexist inseparably, mutually fructifying each other.

Original creativity is manifested not only in traditional theater forms but also in self-organizations and self-managements, and in the technical equipping and maintaining of order in one's Home, in staging shows with very little capital, in the creative interpretation of the best modern plays, collective staging of Soviet prose writings, poetic montages, the choice, composition and performance of music, the planning of various surprises in holidays important to the collective and its members, and so on. The shows which are created and performed in this environment are inseparably linked with it and bear its imprint.

The aspiration to develop a new cultural environment is manifested differently in amateur singing clubs (KSP). In addition to their concert activities, the large urban KSP (there are hundreds of them today in our country) are intensively involved in recording songs, developing their own music libraries, organizing exchanges of recordings and concerts with clubs in other cities, and, within their own research groups, trying to write the history of amateur singing movements in the country and to interpret their role in contemporary culture. The student group of many clubs determines their great "handling capacity." In the case of thousands upon thousands of people (young and middle-aged) frequently the KSP becomes the only active-creative form of musical and overall aesthetic education. This education is specifically



creative, for it is based not on the study and passive acceptance and reproduction, but on collective studies, criticism and social approval of the individual works of club members.

The sociocultural value of the KSP is that here creativity based on urban traditions of music making, of an intimate, home nature, assumes some kind of new feature under the conditions of collective creativity. Amateur guitar-accompanied songs, played at home, among friends, in the courtyard, and in a competition or festival, combine different and today greatly isolated varieties of live music.

Let us particularly mention forest KSP songfests. They meet the need for forms of contacts which are in shortest supply in the city: with nature, with like-minded friends, active, creative, inspired by the force of art, enabling the people to combine various activities.

Forest songfests include dozens of big and small bonfire rallies, intimate "singing circles," solo performances, group concerts, performances of classical songs, the joy of discovering new composers and works, improvised greeting competitions, parodies, cameos and, as a logical result, musicals (publicistic, parody, satirical, etc.). Here as well specific traditions, ethics and aesthetics, customs and rituals are developed and nature is creatively absorbed and humanized. Such was the case, for example, of Tynda, the capital city of the BAM, where as many as 25,000 people would come together to listen to amateur songs at Festival Knoll, which became the true natural-cultural center of the new city.

In the activities of amateur theaters and KSP, social life seems to hide behind art and "artistic specificity." It appears in different forms in mass celebrations which are currently booming. Experiments are being conducted everywhere in the organization of various types of mass entertainment shows. Music, song, theater, musical-poetry, graphic art, folk crafts, folklore, sports and entertainment celebrations are taking place in towns and villages, and celebrations in cities, rayons, villages, streets, families....

#### Family, Home, MZhK

One of the most interesting manifestations of sociocultural amateur urban activities is the so-called "family clubs." Today, unquestionably, we can already speak of an entire movement of enthusiasts promoting family cooperation in the areas of education, upbringing, active recreation, and contacts and creativity among people of different age groups. Home sports grounds and their amateur organization, interfamily hiking camps, theaters, circles, studios, workshops, and all kinds of competitions, are many among the interesting and already established features! The most important thing is that all of this developed on the basis of individual and personal-family culture. It turns out that the idea of a commune, a cooperative has not only not exhausted its possibilities but, as material facilities and the family intellectual potential develop, becomes a necessity for many people.

Therefore, by combining "home cultures" it is obvious that we can truly develop a new environment in modern city life. Today this process has already

gone beyond the stage of suggestions and plans and become quite real. We are referring above all to youth housing complexes (MZhK). The best among them are formations in which governmental and planning principles organically interact with population enterprise.

Rallied in Komsomol-youth construction detachments, through their own efforts and in their leisure time the future members of the MZhK build housing, kindergartens, stores, public laundries and medical-treatment centers, improvements in courtyards, and so on, i.e., the usual urban microrayons. However, the organization of this project is substantially different from ordinary production work. It is based on collective self-government and on a different attitude toward what is being built. The young people are jointly building their own home. This is not an abstract project but the place where they and their children will live.

The construction of housing and cultural projects is only the initial stage in shaping the cultural environment, its tangible frame. The next step is furnishing it, i.e., the active and creative use of what has been created, and enriching its spiritual structure. The people who have worked here hand in hand, who have developed the need for action, continue to develop the existing community and to generate new ideas even after the basic project has been completed.

Thus, in the now famous MZhK-1 in Sverdlovsk, a studio for monumental-decorative art has been organized, where architects and designers draft on their own time plans for building a forest park. There is an active social design department which includes sociologists, economists and psychologists: the development of the MZhK is scientifically substantiated and projected as an informal cultural-creative organism. Cable television is being installed and, in the future, a collective auxiliary farm and a training-education center with a training plant will be set up.

Here efforts are made to solve comprehensively all problems of collective life in the commune: the education of children, the organization of recreation, amateur creativity and social self-government. Parents take turns in supervising preschool clubs and head circles and sections attended by virtually all secondary school students and 70 percent of preschool children over the age of 4. This enables the children to spend a great deal more time with their parents. Comprehensive contacts among different age groups appear directly at places of residence. All in all, one-third of the MZhK-1 population are members of hobby clubs (radio, hiking, the Ryabinushka women's club, clubs for book readers, motion pictures, music, theater and photography). Some 81 percent of the residents participate in mass cultural projects sponsored by the MZhK, compared with no more than 3 percent for the city of Sverdlovsk at large....

Naturally, it is still too early to speak of a fully socially balanced cultural environment in this and other MZhK: they are only beginning their active life. Their very idea, however, contains the opportunity for steadily upgrading the initiative principle. It is thus that the great idea of socialist community life is born and intensified under the new historical conditions.

The new culture of the land of the soviets developed on the basis of initiative. In different periods in our history the initiative of the masses was manifested at different levels of intensiveness. Today we are noting its upsurge. Correspondingly, steps must be taken which will ensure the necessary efficiency in the use of such creative energy. Let us name a few.

Above all, the contemporary town must be provided with free space for social activities, consistent with its scale. The current structure, as we have realized, is more of an imitation of such space. For example, most frequently squares are traffic roundabouts where the automobile is king and no place is left for man. In our view, new developments must be designed in such a way that people could freely complete their construction.

We must cultivate special types of social culture. Sometimes this can be achieved simply by taking a new look at what we already have. Both old and new forms are the most valuable gain of our socialist culture. We must surmount the established view on them as being strictly specialized (recreational, cultural-educational, artistic) areas of activities. That which we know as amateur theaters, KSP, and celebrations are local manifestations of a universal type of cultural creativity. The task is to create through the efforts of state and social organizations maximally favorable conditions for bringing to light their true nature and realizing their true potential.

Independent initiatives aimed at recreating social life are, in our view, the most important prerequisite for surmounting contradictions in cultural development and eliminating the barriers dividing professional from amateur art, various age "subcultures," and rural and urban culture. We must bear in mind that the structure of the social life thus created can efficiently affect grave internal problems of professional and amateur art.

It is thus that the self-regulating function of culture takes place, i.e., the shaping of a balanced environment which ensures the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs for collective creativity and for saturating life with a variety of forms of live contacts and arts.

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## FAMILY AND PARENTHOOD

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[Article by Anatoliy Georgiyevich Kharchev, editor in chief of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor]

[Text] Few are the social phenomena which can focus within themselves virtually all basic aspects of human activities and affect all levels of practical life, ranging from sociohistorical to individual and from economic to ideological. The family is one of them. As the CPSU program emphasizes, it plays "an important role in strengthening the health and in raising growing generations, ensuring the economic and social progress of society and improving demographic processes."

Today, however, the tremendous socioeducational possibilities of the family related, above all, parental functions, are by no means fully used. Naturally, this is reflected on the labor activeness of young people, political and moral standards and, consequently, in the final account, on lowering the effectiveness of the human factor in our development. We shall try in the present article to analyze some of the reasons for this situation and substantiate steps which could contribute to its improvement.

Usually, the words "family" and "parenthood" are put side by side. This is a very old tradition. If there is a family, it means that there must be children and if there are children, it means that there must be parents. This is because the birth of a child is both the birth of a high responsibility to society and to one's own conscience for the health and upbringing of the child. "...In love there are two lives, and then a third, a new life appears. There is a social interest and a duty arises toward the collective" ("Vospominaniya o Vladimire Iliche Lenine" [Recollections About Vladimir Ilich Lenin]. In 5 volumes. Vol 5. Politizdat, Moscow, 1979, p 46). This is a very meaningful statement. Family upbringing is a duty and an action which gives a new content to marriage, forcing the parents somehow to relive past stages of their own lives, giving the life of the adult a high civic meaning. The further the family develops, the more proof is accumulated about its irreplaceable role in the life of socialist society.

It has been confirmed that the wide network of preschool children's institutions created in our country, while assisting as much as it can in care

and upbringing of children, cannot compete with a good family in the main feature: the effectiveness with which the intellectual and emotional capabilities of the child are developed.

It has been established that only the family, providing that it is morally healthy and united, has the type of system for transmitting social information which allows the child to absorb it with a maximal degree of interest, comprehensiveness and speed. The components of this system are parental love and the child's infinite trust in his parents, the overall psychological climate in the family and its status, which serves as a social micromodel. It is precisely thanks to all of this that the family must be the main "transmission link" which can help the person become part of the big, complex and contradictory world of social relations.

It has also been established that even the school, with all of its educational facilities, cannot fully compensate for that which is lost at the stage of family upbringing, for the period of greatest intensiveness during which the child masters many skills is above all the period of preschool childhood. All the possibilities of the family in raising the new generations, which are the most valuable to socialist society, became clear and, furthermore, unquestionable only in our time.

The party, the state and the public pay increasing attention to strengthening marital-family relations and helping large families. However, it is no easy matter to solve today problems which should have been solved starting with the mid-1920s, when negative trends began to appear (increased frequency of births out of wedlock, and legally unsanctioned and temporary cohabitation), which were manifested most clearly in the postwar period. That is why in the interest of proper orientation of demographic policy and educational work, we must reach a thorough understanding of this situation and determine the extent to which it is influenced by stable and objective factors or is the result of temporary circumstances.

Many deformations which became characteristic of the contemporary sociodemographic situation gradually developed over the years. They could have been corrected with relative ease, had their deserved importance been promptly recognized. The most dangerous among them is the continuing distinction made between parenthood and family. Statistically, this is expressed in the fact that a relatively larger number of families in the RSFSR and the country's Western republics are either childless or have a single child, while births out of wedlock continue to increase. According to M.S. Tolts, who gathered data on the outcome of 12,000 pregnancies in a large Russian city, in 66.7 percent of all cases they ended with giving birth to the child; abortions accounted for 33.3 percent; approximately one third of the total number of children were born out of wedlock, but the figure was 50 percent in the case of mothers in the 16-17-year age group. (see "Detnost Semi: Vchera, Segodnya, Zavtra" [Children in the Family: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow]. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, p 43). Many such children go to children's homes, for the parents simply refuse to raise them. Data of another study indicate that 18.2 percent of surveyed married couples do not wish to have even a single child. The following predominated among the reasons for either limiting the number of children or refusing to have them (in the descending

number of respondents who cited them): no one to take care of the child, the need to raise properly already existing children, uncomfortable housing conditions, material difficulties, and too much work at home, which hinders the professional activities and cultural development of the mother (see "Issledovaniya po Kachestvu Braka" [Studies on the Quality of Marriages]. Tartu, 1982, pp 19, 88).

Society is interested in the maximal utilization of the educational potential of the family; families which have optimal opportunities in the area of reproduction (including spiritual) of man and raising new generations, are restricting their reproductive functions almost to the limit. We note a disproportionate disparity between birth rates in various parts of the country and among different population groups. According to the 1979 census, the average number of children within a marriage was (per 1,000 women) 1,690 in the LaSSR, 4,248 in the Tajik SSR, 3,897 in the Uzbek SSR, 2,038 in the RSFSR and 1,947 in the UkSSR. At the time of the census, women with higher education had given birth to 1,279 children per 1,000 women; with secondary specialized training, 1,365; and among those who had been unable to graduate even from grammar school, 3,433 (see "Chislennost i Sostav Naseleniya SSSR" [Number and Structure of USSR Population]. Finansy i Statistika, Moscow, 1984, pp 356-357). The number of children born to mentally ill or retarded individuals is almost triple the average birthrate. Children born out of wedlock are usually subject to a greater danger of mental and physical abnormalities compared to the offspring of a married couple, for a considerable part of such children are considered "carnival children," i.e., conceived under the influence of alcohol. Alcohol, however, is by no means an ally of health, particularly of the health of those who are as yet to be born.

Even if we could consider these facts calmly and unemotionally, we would have to admit that the existing situation is fraught with two dangers, to say the least. The first is that a number of areas are nearing a point at which depopulation begins. The second is that the threat of a pathological burden for the population and, above all, congenital mental retardation, oligophrenia, which, as we know, could be transmitted and which arises as a result of the poisoning of the mother's organism with alcohol and other substances harmful to the unborn child.

Having found in ourselves the courage to look in the eyes the threat of drug addiction and prostitution, we must also put an end to concealing the trends leading to the worsened health of the newly born, which are powerful and, unless efficiently blocked, could become irreversible.

The process of the declining number of children in a family and the increased number of children raised by a single parent or else growing without parental care and attention (frequently with living parents) is encouraged not only by births out of wedlock but also by divorces.

When we speak of divorces, we frequently hear the reassuring statement that the number of families is not diminishing! Indeed, from 1959 to 1979 the number of families in the country increased by 16 million and the percentage of people living in families remained almost steady, totaling in 1979 87.2 percent in the cities and 91.3 percent in the countryside. These figures

prove, first of all, the durable and relatively high prestige of having a family as a form of organization of individual life; second, the so-called nuclearization of the family, reducing it to its natural nucleus: parents-minor children and continuing separation between large and "two-generation" families. However, although it has remained one of the main social values (as confirmed by the results of sociological surveys), the family has become less stable than it was before the war, for instance. The number of dissolved marriages per 1,000 people has increased by a factor of 2.7 since 1960. Most frequently this applies to families in the large cities and to new marriages. In the largest cities, for example, there is one divorce per two newly registered marriages (the average national indicator is 3.5 per 10). In the case of more than one third of divorced couples, cohabitation lasted from several weeks to 4 years.

Different people react differently to the breakdown of their family. In the majority of cases, the emotions which this triggers are by no means positive. However, this is not even a question of emotions. According to many Soviet and foreign sociologists, the very frequent consequences of divorces are reduced labor activeness, high likelihood of nervous stress, heavy drinking and mental disturbances. What particularly affects society is the weakened influence of parents on children. Children become the object of grave conflicts between the divorcing spouses and many such conflicts go far beyond the limits of the pre-divorce and divorce stages and continue in subsequent years. Whenever a child grows in an atmosphere of open hostility and dislike between parents, this growth always develops into a confrontation between character integrity and shrewdness, and mental strength and cowardice, falsehood and dissembling. If people who were once close but had been unable to protect their family would remember this, and separate not pettily but with dignity, they would preserve for their son or daughter what could be a final chance of raising a person with an untraumatized soul!

Our studies indicate that not only fighting but even relatively stable marital couples frequently do not dare to have a second or third and, sometimes, even a first child, fearing that their marriage will be just as short lasting as that of many others. Finally, the instability of many families is reflected on the psychology of marriage, sometimes developing in the people features such as suspicion, excessive practicality, mistrust of the partner and future of their family, feelings of alienation and apathy and a lowering of the general feeling of satisfaction with life. To the extent to which all of this influences one way or another the situation of relations between sexes, divorces contribute to the increased frequency of morally unmotivated random sexual relations.

As the number of divorces grows, the likelihood that they can be compensated by second marriages is increasingly diminishing. The indicator of second marriages is particularly low in the case of women with children; this increases the number of single-parent families (mothers most frequently) and of unmarried people.

Therefore, the instability of a marriage triggers grave problems both for those who would like to set up a family as well as those whose family has been destroyed. Nonetheless, divorces cannot be considered exclusively as a

totally negative phenomenon, for the freedom to dissolve a marriage is one of the means of ensuring social justice in marital-family relations and the preservation of their moral foundations. Basically erroneous is both the abuse of the freedom of divorce as well as the blanket negative approach to divorce, regardless of individual situations. In still frequent cases, a divorce may be considered a moral act and the preservation of a marriage a manifestation of immorality. Therefore, nothing other than moral harm could be caused by condemning (publicly, even more so) a divorce. Public opinion is a great force in preventing the dissolution of marriages. However, it would be better to release this force not when the family has already broken up but when the breakdown is only developing, when the family is encountering its initial difficulties and contradictions. As to public reaction to the divorce itself, it should proceed from the fact that marital relations are extremely complex and must be directed against the specific culprits for the breakdown of the family only after their culpability has been legally established.

Since the family is needed by and necessary to the socialist society but since symptoms of its lowered social ability to function and the weakening of the strength of family relations are obvious, the legitimate question is how to stop this process? For the greater the distance separating family from parenthood becomes, the more this affects the reproduction of manpower and the entire social situation.

In other words, concern for the family and for anything which precedes its formation and which parallels its establishment and development means concern for the future of the country in its entirety and comprehensiveness. For that reason the first thing which must be said about the nature of this concern is that it must be not sporadic and formal, it must not be doled out but systematic, comprehensive and all-embracing. More than ever before the truth which applies here is that in order to solve this problem efficiently and quickly "the entire world must participate." In other words, there must be no single area of our work in which strengthening the family is not considered; there must be no single institution which would consider itself uninvolved in its fate.

Obviously, in order to solve such problems specifically, we must first understand the reasons which have led to the spoiling of relations between the sexes and between parents and children. Changes in such relations occurred at a time when the very prospects of life were threatened (war, followed by the threat of mass annihilation with nuclear weapons), the economic stress, the grave shortage of housing and huge demographic disproportions. All of this hardly favored the preservation of standards of sexual morality based on the trust that "the morning is wiser than the evening," and that there are problems the solution of which must not be hurried. Since this trust was weakened and since, furthermore, it turned out that "there are nine children per ten girls," interest in the future was shown only by those with strong willpower and firm principles. Relations in which physical closeness preceded emotional closeness or, in general, avoided it altogether, became increasingly widespread. New stereotypes of what is permissible and impermissible and what was proper and improper in relations between men and women appeared in the mass consciousness; occasionally, as indicated by sociological surveys, they resulted in approval and justification not only of intimate extramarital



relations motivated by profound feelings but also of random ones. Limiting this process within the boundaries of reason and expediency was possible only by countering its extreme manifestations with a highly efficient sex education of youth, as a built-in part of the overall system of moral-aesthetic and civic training. However, no such system has been developed so far and educational work in the school has been reduced to "educational instruction" (which is much easier) and the upbringing concept, such as molding the individual and ensuring the optimal combination of all factors influencing the child, was replaced by purely verbal admonitions on isolated and unrelated topics. This was done despite the fact that in tasking the young people with learning, V.I. Lenin also spoke of the broader and more difficult task of raising the growing generation on the basis of unity between knowledge and practice and mastering the values of human culture.

At one point, virtually all of us have been or will be parents and educators. As we know, however, the educator himself must be educated. The fact that no progress is being made in the area of labor upbringing in contemporary schools is by no means accidental. In order to upgrade the efficiency of labor upbringing it must be carried out in context with the entire process of shaping the individual (including practical activities) on the basis of what has already been achieved in the areas of the moral, political and aesthetic development of the child. Sex education, even if it eventually earned a kind of condescending attention, is doomed to the fate of labor education: for the time being it is not a link of the system which ensures mastery by the adolescent of the social roles which he will have to perform and as a continuation of his moral and aesthetic development. It is merely one of the "subjects," usually taught not by specialists but by teachers in related subjects (biology, social science, etc.).

At the present time the question of the quality and efficiency of sex education becomes particularly relevant, for large cities and migration processes increase the independence and freedom of action of individuals and, consequently, the gravity of the consequences of erroneous, controversial or even simply period actions (for relations between sexes are also subject to fashion). Suffice it to recall that a certain percentage of young women come out of the period of premarital courting as single mothers or else lose (as a result of abortions) their ability to procreate. At this point we come across yet another unsolved problem. There is a widespread opinion that means of preventing undesired pregnancy encourage extramarital relations. Matters, however, are somewhat more complex: extramarital relations appear for a variety of other reasons. The lack of necessary attention to the problems of contraception, however, is a very active factor which stimulates abortions. The fact that in our country the correlation between abortions and childbirth is among the worst and that, as a result, we lose a certain number of children which could be born within a marriage is the direct consequence of something which could hardly be described as a statesmanlike approach by the health authorities.

People reach the marital state through a variety of ways in the course of which they frequently lose much of what makes the family strong and happy: passion and the impact of initial feelings and, sometimes, the capacity of becoming parents. Adding to this the fact that many brides and grooms enter

into a marriage emotionally unprepared, without sufficiently developed feelings of duty, responsibility and ability and aspiration to solve conflicts arising in the family for the sake of preserving its unity and well-being, the inner forces which unite the family could turn sour, particularly at its beginning, and weaker than those which threaten its strength. For the time being, such forces are strong. They include the lack of comfortable housing, inadequate wages and difficulty related to the reciprocal adaptation between the spouses and between them and their parents, relatives and friends. Marital relations develop not in a sterile environment but in a kind of "field of interaction" among many individuals and groups which, one way or another, are involved with the new family cell. That is why it is precisely at this initial stage in the establishment of the family that particularly important features are the loyalty and friendship of those close to the young family and the involvement of the newly wed's labor collectives.

For a long time (and in many collectives to this day) this participation was limited to congratulations and wishes for happiness. The family, however, is not simply a married couple but also a home, a hearth, which should be such as to lift from the person the stress of the labor day and the even more stressful official contacts. If such a hearth could be made available to each young couple, breakdowns of young families would be significantly fewer and the active professional work of the newly wed would be significantly greater. As to the way this "if" is implemented, it is seen in the experience of the initial youth house construction cooperatives. We must see to it, however, that joining such a cooperative does not become yet another variety of beating shortages and that the building of housing on this basis become one of the most important trends of social policy on the town and enterprise level, and for the newly wed to have extensive opportunities for obtaining credit under conditions which would encourage motherhood and parenthood and the strength and social activeness of the family.

The family is created for the sake of happiness, and family happiness, although it cannot be reduced to the home alone, can hardly last without a minimum of material-economic prerequisites. Studies of reproduction plans of newly wed, i.e., planned number of children, indicate a direct correlation between these stipulations and the initial economic situation of the family and even its expectations in this area.

These concepts, i.e., the actual attitude toward parenthood as such, develop quite early in life. A recent study established that "as early as in the fourth grade most school students, boys and girls, begin to think of an ideal and desirable number of children in the family" ("Detnost Semi...", p 108). Characteristically, attention paid to this problem has its peaks: the fourth and the tenth grades. In the former case views are expressed based primarily on impressions from one's own childhood; in the latter, on an incomparably greater extent of information, interest in which is intensified by the already relatively imminent prospect of marrying. In both cases, however, views on the average number of desired children are virtually identical (2.65 and 2.69), essentially not deviating from the average ideal figure (correspondingly, 2.82 and 2.85) (see *ibid.*, p 111). However, differences in opinions are most strongly influenced by the experience of the parental family. However, both those who have brothers and sisters and those who do

not deem having more than two children expedient. This point of view, obviously, is a reflection of the feeling of deprivation in childhood, usually experienced by single children, although many parents, as we have seen, justify their unwillingness to have a second child precisely with the desire to provide better conditions for raising the first.

Another conclusion which can be drawn from such data is noteworthy: the hope that the birthrate will increase without changing the current situation, which is that virtually all women, regardless of the number of children they raise and their attitude toward professional activities and motherhood, should work at an enterprise or establishment, is merely a nice utopia. Demographic studies have detected a stable trend: the ideal number of children is always higher than the desired number and the desired number is higher than the actual number. Furthermore, such indicators change with age but only downwards.

All of this, however, does not mean that the existing trends in the area of the birthrate are fatal and cannot be changed. They can be, but not through half measures. As to the measures which could lead to change, we should begin by making demographic policy increasingly consistent with local conditions. In such a huge country with so many different conditions as ours, it is hardly possible to hope that any given demographic action would be equally efficient everywhere. Hence the need to formulate steps to optimize the birthrate on at least two levels: the all-union and the union-republic. Why do we consider the term "optimizing" more suitable than "increasing?" Because the maximal efficiency of demographic policy at the contemporary stage can be achieved only by taking into consideration the quantitative and qualitative indicators of population reproduction and the fact that in principle such reproduction must be more evenly distributed among all republics.

At the present time the birth rate is inversely proportional to the level of women's professional employment in the given area. On the other hand, the effectiveness of upbringing, particularly in the first years of life of the child, depends on the extent of his contacts with the mother. Obviously, motherhood means not only the physical but the spiritual and social act of giving birth to a new life. In order not to split this single maternal function, women must be given the opportunity (as has been done in a number of socialist countries) of caring for the child on a full time basis for at least the first 3 years. Such labor should be paid as professional work, which would be an acknowledgment of its moral recognition. Correspondingly, motherhood and the education of children should also be taken into consideration in computing the old-age pension.

Women's work means not only working at enterprises and establishments. Nor can we say that it is "in the sphere of public production," for women's work also includes what Engels described as "the production of man himself." The latter is related above all to maternal work, which is not considered work. "She does not work, she is raising her children" is an expression which everyone has probably heard. Yet the mother's work, if properly done, is one of the most difficult, hard and creative types of labor. This particularly applies to the cities, where children must be watched more closely, with greater expenditures of time, forces and material funds compared to rural areas. It

has been estimated that the birth of a first child lowers the living standard of the urban family by approximately 30 percent. But who has calculated the cost of the sleepless nights of mothers and their feelings and concerns related to illnesses, colds or hurts of the child? "Let us praise the woman-mother!" M. Gorkiy asked. And how frequent are cases in which a correspondent, in introducing a good production worker to his readers, viewers or listeners would report about the slightest details of her work at the enterprise, ask her about her participation in the plant's choir and so on, but would neglect to ask about what is perhaps her main pride--her children? If man is the basic production force of society, parenthood and family are economic factors of tremendous significance and, consequently, in any other type of development.

Today substantial funds are spent on the maintenance of nurseries and the cost of medical treatment of children (children in nurseries are sick much more frequently than those raised in the family) and, finally, on re-educating those whose childhood, with minimal maternal care, led to an antisocial behavior. Let us recall also the universal truth that mothers of minors are by no means the most "profitable" workers, for which, naturally, they are not to be blamed. Therefore, even if additional funds must be spent to pay for motherhood for the first years of the child's life, which are the most important in his upbringing, a substantial part of such funds would be eventually recovered. The moral effect of such a step would be invaluable. Society and the state would substantially benefit in the main thing: no longer being a kind of social concern and having gained the status of labor activity, motherhood would become a more desirable and a more frequent event in a woman's life.

However, paying for the work of a mother for the first 3 years of the child's life does not in itself solve the problem of compensating the family for the lowering of its living standard after the appearance of the child. Apparently it is not without the influence of this economic factor that the following "wisdom" has become widespread among young families: "Let us first start living ourselves and then have children." Naturally, such a turn of mind also indicates a lack of understanding of the fact that motherhood and fatherhood is by no means the least of the joys of life. Nonetheless, this does not reduce the importance of economic circumstances in strengthening the family and planning for motherhood.

Consequently, in order for planning motherhood to be optimal from the viewpoint of the social interests, the material sacrifices of a family raising a child should be minimal, the more so since the economic profitability of giving birth, which was quite high in the past (in the farm a child aged 8 or 9 was a working hand; in his mature years, when the parents were already old, he was the breadwinner), is today either insignificant or nonexistent. The need for children has become above all either a moral need or the need to fulfill one's civic duty. In such circumstances, in order to increase the birthrate, the consistency between the moral and economic interests of the family in solving the problem of will there be a second, a third or even a first child, plays the main role. Furthermore, particularly in urban families, this question frequently involves the following consideration: "Shall we be able to ensure that our future child is 'no worse than others' in

terms of living conditions, clothing and other criteria of 'prestige'?" Whatever we may be saying or thinking, such philistine forms of self-assertion and the egotism of "philistine couples," about whom V.I. Lenin wrote, have not become merely a memory in our society. Naturally, what we need here above all is educational work. However, we have engaged in such work for a number of decades and the problem of optimizing the birthrate must be resolved in the immediate future.

In our country economic encouragement of parenthood is based on a number of laws, the main one of which is the 1944 law which, as we know, is aimed at encouraging the having of many children (five and more) in direct relation to giving birth. The efficacy of this incentive proved to be limited to individual in primarily agricultural areas; in the highly urbanized republics and oblasts with a high percentage of professional women it has been exceptionally low. In order to reach a relative balance in population reproduction among the individual areas, the greatest amount of aid should be paid for a having a third and fourth child. The decision to provide aid should also be made dependent on the quality indicators of the birthrate and the education of children. Otherwise budget funds would be wasted, as is sometimes the case, by encouraging pathological conditions, alcohol-induced conceptions and the moral maiming of children in bad families, some of which have several children. In turn, in order to help to reduce the number of pathological deviations from standards among newborn children, a widespread network of genetic consultation offices should be opened, with a view to forecasting the health of either planned or already expected children. Such consultations could save many spouses from the heavy burden of becoming parents of a mentally ill or retarded child and would be a factor in developing a more serious attitude toward sexual behavior in general.

The influence of society on the planning of parenthood and the birthrate, with a view to improving its quantitative and qualitative indicators, would unquestionably create favorable prerequisites for raising the children, for mental abnormalities can still not be efficiently treated and drastically lower the ability of the child for socialization and education. However, the fact that some young people have proved unable to achieve a painless integration in social life after going through the family-children's preschool institutions-school educational cycle, is by no means explained merely in terms of biogenetic reasons. It was the entire situation of stagnation, the disparity between words and actions, the alienation of propaganda from life and the dissemination of negative phenomena and the weakened struggle against them that influenced population reproduction and the quality of upbringing of the new generations. The current restructuring of all aspects of our activities and their revolutionary renovation provide new opportunities for the educational activities of the family. On the other hand, the offensive mounted against drunkenness and alcoholism in public and at work have frequently made the family the last refuge of this evil. We believe, therefore, that labor collectives and social organizations which limit themselves to purging from drunks only "their own" sectors and "abstaining" from eliminating drunkenness from ordinary life as well, commit a serious error, for it is precisely here that a kind of "regrouping of forces" of our most dangerous enemy takes place, new methods of producing moonshine are mastered and a new "reinforcement" of slaves to the "green dragon" is trained

by encouraging drinking among women and children. Therefore, tolerance and a conciliatory attitude toward drunkenness at home are as evil as drunkenness itself.

Speaking of education, it is important to note that increased openness and the discussion of our shortcomings and contradictions in the press and on the radio and television, demand of parents and schools serious and frank and systematic discussions with the children of the problems which face the country. Only thus can we guarantee the proper understanding and acceptance by the young of everything that is taking place and put our present revolutionary way of life on the service of shaping a socially active socialist individual. Success in this project also depends on the extent to which both family and school will encourage the child and the adolescent to engage in self-education and self-advancement. For the time being, this powerful reserve in educational work is left virtually unused because of overburdening school students with frequently senseless lessons and homework and the excessive supervision exercised by parents and education staffs.

There is no need especially to prove that the influence which every parent exerts on the child directly depends on relations between them. In the light of this truth, upgrading the quality of the upbringing is closely related to the most difficult task of curbing the large number of divorces. The summation of results of studies conducted in recent years in Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk and the Estonian SSR has indicated that typical of most dissolved marriages is the relatively short premarital acquaintanceship between the former spouses (less than 6 months), the addiction of one of them (or both) to alcohol, differences in views on basic problems of family activities, unequal participation in household chores, care for the children and their upbringing, separate use of leisure time and paid leave, few common interests and hobbies, a negative attitude on the part of the wife or the husband toward the friends and relatives of the other spouse, and lack of restraint, if we may say so, in the manifestation of negative feelings. The same studies also indicated that material and economic factors should be classified not as conflict-generating but as encouraging the development and aggravation of already existing conflicts. In other words, puzzlements such as "why is it that in the past people lived worse yet there were fewer divorces?" can be explained relatively simply. Indeed, in the past families had significantly fewer material opportunities. Nonetheless, the sociopsychological sources of conflicts did not manifest themselves so actively, for such activeness is directly proportional to the standard of individual requirements concerning the marriage and family life, increasing, particularly among women, faster than improvements in marital-family relations.

Whereas in the recent past, when the influence of the old traditions was stronger and, subsequently, after the war, when there were demographic disproportions, women frequently tolerated inequality in life and the husband's drunkenness and unfaithfulness; today, as a result of the increased professional and cultural standards of women and the increasingly efficient state aid to motherhood, a new situation has developed. The need to have a man as a breadwinner and even as a father and educator has greatly diminished, for the so-called closet fatherlessness (i.e., a situation in which the father

virtually does not participate in the life of the family and the education of the children) creates a virtual equality between a legitimate wife and a single mother. Under such circumstances, what could motivate a woman to marry or preserve the family? Nothing but consideration of prestige, the role of which, obviously, will be declining, or else a great love and the profound respect that such love creates on the part of the husband, and confidence in the future.

Love, however (as distinguished from basic sexual instinct) is manifested not only through what nature has given man but also what he has absorbed of culture, morality and social ideals. Since a high cultural standard and spirituality are still not found in any person who enters adulthood in our country, in relations between the sexes love is frequently replaced either by the illusion of love or its simulation. This enhances expectations related to marriage (and, consequently, increases the likelihood of the outbreak of family conflicts) without contributing in the least to preserving the solidity of a marriage. As a result, the orientation of young people toward love as the only moral justification for marriage and sexual closeness, unless supported by a systematic enhancement of the efficiency and quality of education, turns into the popularization of the type of "novels" and marriages in which a declaration of love, in the best of cases, is nothing but a ritual.

This, the most profound reason for the instability of a contemporary marriage, interacts with a number of other, above all with the already chronic lagging of social services to the family behind its rapidly growing needs. This creates additional stress in the life of the family collective and the breakdown of nonworking time between men and women and aggravates the contradiction between the professional and family roles of spouses. It provokes and intensifies psychological conflicts within the family, reduces to a minimum spiritual contacts among its members and weakens the possibility of peacefully settling family disputes. All of this is proof of the timeliness of steps to be taken to develop state and cooperative services and to create in the country a network of institutions for psychological counseling to spouses and parents who are facing difficulties in their family life.

The implementation of the party's programmatic stipulations in the area of social policy will contribute to the further enhancement of the standards and quality of life of the Soviet family. However, it is difficult to assume that in each specific family all such aspects will develop harmoniously, at the same pace and in the same direction. Practical experience indicates, for example, that the new opportunities provided by the enhanced well-being are used by the family on the basis of the type of hierarchy of needs, aspirations and value orientations and social or narrow-group interests which it sets in the case of even the slightest disparity between them. That is why the end result of the enhancement of the living standard will vary a great deal for a considerable percentage of families. The homogeneity needed by society, which would open opportunities for the definitive elimination of trends in relations between sexes and between parents and children, which are nonsocialist in nature and origin, will be possible only by combining the overall socioeconomic and cultural development of the country with special steps aimed at strengthening the family, systematically upgrading its social activity and the enhancement of the most necessary needs for love, marriage and children.

In other words, all that which was previously known as the family hearth and which, in the age of the scientific and technical revolution and cosmic velocities and information "explosions" and communication oversaturation, has not only not lost its value but, conversely, has assumed a new meaning and an even greater importance.

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## A HAPPY PERSON

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[Article by Dmitriy Gerasimovich Gorbuntsov, publicist]

[Text] Ten years ago, when it became fashionable to buy a car, his wife, Raisa Yakovlevna, suddenly became fired up: let us buy one. Further oil was poured into the fire by his son Yuriy, a gangling fitter: What are we, are we worse than others or not earn enough? Anatoliy Petrovich could not resist the pressure and bought an UAZ, which is the greatest dream of a rural resident. Being a Hero of Socialist Labor, on an exceptional basis, he was sold a cross-country vehicle.

The Fanygin family played with this "toy," went a couple of times to Tambov and to Borisovka, Anatoliy Petrovich's native village in Mordovskiy Rayon, and then put the car in the garage. Fanygin does not drive to do hunting and fishing or picking mushrooms or berries. He has no time. His wife, a rural teacher, is busy with her notebooks and students. His son is either at work or travels on business. The daughters, as is natural, have flown the parental coop. Anatoliy Petrovich himself, although he loves his car and takes care of it, also does not use it extensively. He has no time.

Anatoliy Petrovich Fanygin is head of a tractor-crop growing brigade at the Krutovo section of the Komsomolets Sovkhoz. This may seem like paradise to an idler and hell to a normal person. This may be said jocularly, but it does contain a hint of truth. For, to the outsider, it may seem that there are only three seasons in the village: sowing, hay mowing and harvesting. The rest of the time one just idles. Those who know farming first-hand are of a different opinion: the season lasts the year-round, and even more so for a brigade leader. It only moves from one section to another. There may be no action on the fields today but activities in the repair workshops would be quite intensive. This is precisely what will determine the success of the next harvest.

Fanygin has always had the reputation of a very strict person and extremely demanding manager. Obviously, that is the only way to manage in the countryside. Three years ago, because of absenteeism alone, the Komsomol Sovkhoz annually lost as much as 1,700 man/days. It was only after the experience of the Fanygin brigade in fighting wastemakers and violators of

labor discipline, which the party committee, the people's deputies and the controllers applied to the entire sovkhos, that working time losses were cut by two-thirds. It pays to be strict.

Absenteeism is something long forgotten in the brigade headed by Anatoliy Petrovich although life being what it is, occasionally breakdowns occur in it as well. Until recently, for example, it included a good technician in top form. He was extremely valuable when sober. However, anytime something would happen such as, for example, a rainfall during the harvest, he would get drunk. He had to be laid off. This was part of the strict measures although Fanygin still regrets the fact: "He did not go to live with the capitalists. He stayed here. What we failed to do will have to be done by others."

On one occasion, last winter, Anatoliy Petrovich and I were traveling with other comrades from the Komsomolets central farmstead to his native Krutovo section. A snowstorm had raged throughout the night and occasionally we would slide into a snowdrift. Eventually, everyone became fed up with pushing the car out of the snow. Everyone but not Anatoliy Petrovich. A thick set solid man, wearing a heavy, old-fashioned awkward-seeming overcoat and felt boots, ignoring his radiculitis, he invariably managed to get the car out of the snow. "What a pile of snow!" he kept exclaiming. It turned out that he was quite concerned with the situation with the winter crops. Now he no longer worried, for the needed blanket of snow was there.

"Does this mean that there will be enough moisture?" we asked Anatoliy Petrovich.

"Who knows," was his noncommittal peasant reaction.

Last summer several farms in the Tambov area were severely damaged by the drought. However, even under those circumstances, Fanygin's brigade averaged more than 24 quintals per hectare, i.e., far above the oblast average. In some intensive technological sections, the Mironovskaya strain had yielded nearly 50 quintals! Good crops had been harvested of sugar beets, corn and potatoes.... "The millet was low," Anatoliy Petrovich sighed.

"Fanygin is lucky," I was told later in the neighboring Pushkari settlement. "Our soil is approximately the same. We plow, sow and harvest the same way, as though we have no secrets from each other. The results, however, are tremendously different."

Lucky? It may seem so. He has always been lucky, as he was while he served aboard a minesweeper in the Black Sea. This was soon after the Great Patriotic War, when the sea was full of mines. To this day he breaks into a cold sweat when he remembers how frequently he and his fellow-servicemen risked their lives in disarming mines, not only along our shores but also in the Burgas area, in fraternal Bulgaria. At sea or on land the sapper is not allowed an error.

But who could claim that a grain grower has that right? Nature has many more secrets than a rusty mine. Like a mischievous child it is always ready to trip the farmer. That is why one must always be on guard. Here even petty matters are important. In the steppe, with an almost permanent scarcity of

moisture in the soil, a great deal depends on sowing at the right time. "Even the lightest delay would ruin the harvest," the brigade leader told me. "One must act according to the situation, one must have a feel for the land. Nature itself tells us what to do."

"Nature does not tell everyone," smiled agronomist V. Uklyanskiy, head of the agricultural department of Tambovskiy Raykom, after I had mentioned that conversation. A special talent is needed, Vladimir Ivanovich believes. Like a musician, one is born a farmer but one must also have a kind of feeling, developed after many years of work, a feeling which comes, as they say, with mother's milk, something which Anatoliy Petrovich Fanygin, a grain grower in spirit and vocation, has a great deal of.

They all remember that during one of those droughts (which are frequent here) Fanygin with his boys decided to improve the soil with silt they had taken from a pond. At first some people laughed at the crazy project. By autumn the skeptics were silent, for their fields had burned up while, as always, Fanygin's people had grain.

Nonetheless, it is one thing to plow a thousand fields and be on intimate terms with the land and be thoroughly familiar with tractors, combines and other agricultural equipment, and something entirely different to manage people who deal with the land, the crops and the equipment, and to demand of them the same type of knowledge and skill and the same type of love. "Yes, this is much harder," Anatoliy Petrovich agrees. He believes that a brigade leader must make no mistake in assigning jobs to people particularly those working the night shift, for example, or in sowing and cultivating the sugar beets. He takes into consideration not only the practical skills of the people but also their nature and even their mood at that particular moment.

Now that they are applying the brigade contracting method (the Fanygin people were among the first in the oblast to adopt this form of labor organization and wages), it is necessary to educate the labor collective itself. For example, Petr Ivanovich Loskutov noted that one of the boys was hurrying with the harvest and found unthreshed blades. He made the boy run the same wheat through the combine a second time. Later, by decision of the general assembly of the brigade, the coefficient of labor participation of this mechanizer was reduced by one-half. It was almost half of the figure reached by Petr Ivanovich, a thoughtful, calm and knowledgeable foreman, a good instructor of young people and a very conscientious person, or else in the case of reliable, skillful and industrious mechanizers, such as Yuriy, Nikolay and Yevgeniy Ulyev. Better than any kind of words the labor participation coefficient teaches negligent people and forces them, without any prompting on the part of the brigade leader, to think of the future crop, discipline and their comrades.

Fanygin is convinced that restructuring in the agroindustrial complex must start comprehensively with a conversion to economic methods of farming and concern for the working and living conditions of ordinary workers. The use of cost accounting and the checking account system for controlling outlays, combined with collective contracting, result in substantial improvements. For example, it was thanks to such restructuring that last year Komsomolets was

able to cope with its obligations concerning the production and procurement of agricultural commodities, and earned about 1 million rubles. Annual milk production per cow rose from 1,823 to 3,000 or more kgs.

Or else, consider intensive technology. Even last year, which was droughty, the oblast averaged nearly 10 quintals per "intensive hectare" in winter wheat more and 28 quintals of sugar beets more compared to ordinary land.

Yes, Fanygin is lucky, not only because he was the first to take the risk of applying the recommendations of science and progressive experience. He cannot tolerate phrase-mongers and boasters. He scorns people on whom one cannot rely. But then, with the sensitivity of radar, he can detect in a person the talent of a master and can see a future ace in a rank novice. One spring, the "chief sugar beet grower" in the brigade, the acknowledged record setter of high yields and experienced head of a link Vasilii Petrovich Ulyev, unexpectedly fell ill. The question immediately arose: Who would replace him?

"Zhenya Belyayev," Anatoliy Petrovich suggested. "What is the matter with you?" the high command of the sovkhoz said worriedly. "He is totally 'green,' he has just graduated. Are you short of experienced people?" "I assume responsibility," brusquely said Anatoliy Petrovich. That same year, Yevgeniy Belyayev achieved the highest sugar beet yield in the rayon. Since then he has long become acknowledge by everyone as a master of his work. He was recently accepted into the party. "What is strange about that?" Anatoliy Petrovich asked. "Before that time, for several seasons, he had worked on that combine together with his father. And after completing the mechanizer course, when he made his first furrow, I realized that this boy was talented.... Shortly afterwards we discovered in him another talent, that of a public worker. That is why we elected him deputy to the rayon soviet."

Fanygin himself has been a delegate to the party congress, RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and member of the Tambov Party Obkom Buro.... It was not in vain that in speaking of him, the first secretary of Tambov CPSU Obkom described him as a statesman. It would be difficult to determine where in Fanygin's life and work the brigade leader ends and the agricultural soviet deputy or head of the people's control group begins. People come to him as their representative for all kinds of matters! Someone must be helped in hauling coal to his home, someone else would like, after VUZ graduation, to be assigned where his girlfriend works, someone else again needs some kind of special carpet for his marriage, etc....

An elderly woman stopped Fanygin on the street in Kruty. "What is it, Ilinichna?" Anatoliy Petrovich asked after the usual greetings. "Well, not much choice in groats at the village store and there is no flour. Find out what is happening," she complained. "I shall," calmly answered Fanygin and made a note in his worn-out notebook. He does not divide his obligations as a deputy into major and minor. He considers equally important the building of a new school, a kindergarten, state housing of the farmstead type and the fact that Mother Ilinichna should always be able to buy flour for her fritters and groats to make kasha for herself and her grandson, and that her neighbor, who would like to build a house, should have the necessary building materials.

It is true that on one occasion (I was told this "confidentially" by Tatyana, Anatoliy Petrovich's daughter) a close relative of Fanygin's, a last year student at a pedagogical VUZ, asked her uncle-deputy to pull some strings so that she could remain in the city after graduating from the institute. Anatoliy Petrovich took this as a personal insult. He spent a sleepless night thinking that anyone could consider him capable of doing such a thing. Naturally, Tanya would not even think of asking her father for such a favor. After her VUZ graduation she went wherever she had been assigned--to teach school in the remote Lysyye Gory Village. She worked there for several years. And even after the Komsomol raykom, which had noted her organizational ability, wanted to give her a job, it had a hard time persuading Anatoliy Petrovich to give his "parental blessings." Fanygin is one of those true Russian characters who practice what they preach.

In his rare moments of relaxation he loves to read a book. He particularly likes Tolstoy. He and his wife have a good collection of books. Whenever possible, he tries to watch a soccer game on television, when Moscow's Spartak is playing. He also likes to sing, particularly in good company, and romp with his grandson.

Everyone in the Tambov area knows Anatoliy Petrovich. And all anyone I spoke with had his own opinion on his character. In all likelihood, in their own way they were all accurate. I believe, however, that the most accurate description was that of Akulina Antonovna, his 85-year old mother: "He is a happy man." What his mother meant was not at all the high honors bestowed on her son or the fact that he had been elected delegate to the congress. To her, an old peasant woman, to be "happy" meant something entirely different.

During the difficult war years, when the front line was very close to their village, alone with small children, she became very ill precisely when she had to go to a dangerous place to mow hay for her cow (which, at that time, was the main source of food for her and her children). Unexpected, however, her only son, a mere boy, took his father's scythe and went to do what even an adult man would consider hard work. She was told by the women returning from the fields, "Be pleased, Akulina, you are raising a happy peasant: he loves and knows how to work."

Soldiers' widows are rarely wrong. Indeed, from an early age he loved and knew how to work. He displayed the same qualities after the war, when he was in charge of supplying water for all working tractors in the kolkhoz, when he became a plow cleaner (that is how those who hitched implements to the tractors were known in the village) and, once again unexpectedly to his mother, when he learned by himself how to handle a tractor, as well as now, when he is in command of the entire tractor-crop growing brigade and when, session after session, the people of his village elect him their deputy.

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## IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY OF SOCIALISM

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[Text]

### I.

History has given us innumerable proofs that theory separated from the tree of life and from the experience, problems, and tasks of sociohistorical practice inevitably turns into a catechism of dogmas or, at best, yesterday's truths which, even if they include some long-term or permanent elements, are insufficient to guide us in solving the new tasks and problems of the present and the future.

However, history also shows us many and quite significant cases of alienation of our practice from Marxist-Leninist theory. It would be difficult to describe the full variety of such manifestations as vulgar pragmatism, interpreted in the sense of theoretical ignorance and arrogance, scornful or irresponsible attitude toward theory and underestimating its importance in terms of practical work. Pragmatism is a social phenomenon which frequently has its own philosophy and the explanation for which should be sought in the social life of its bearers. If individuals proclaim any given individual or group authority as the supreme criterion and custodian of the truth and if this authority uses his official position with a view to extracting benefits for himself, his relatives and friends at the expense of society, and so on, what kind of attitude could be expected of such people when it comes to Marxist-Leninist theory and its dialectical materialism? One could expect anything but consistency between their practical activities, behavior and way of life and the principles and requirements of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The dialectical interconnection between theory and practice is a basic, an elementary truth. Nonetheless, we note cases of neglect of this truth. On the one hand, we are witnessing the alienation of theory from practice, an alienation which is manifested in the lagging of theory, making its conclusions and assessments of real accomplishments unrealistic, which leads to the formulation and promotion of unrealistic objectives and tasks.

On the other hand, it leads to a rather extensive spreading of various forms of alienation of practice from theory in the formulation of specific assignments and objectives, which are unsubstantiated, unsupported and puzzling on the scientific-theoretical level.

In both cases, this has led to all kinds of minor and major failures, distortions and deformations within the communist movement and the building of socialism, and continues to lead to distorted concepts of Marxism-Leninism and a prejudiced, revisionistic or simply negativistic attitude toward it, toward one of its components or another and, particularly, toward dialectical materialism. Many former Marxists developed the illusion of the so-called "crisis in Marxism-Leninism" and its "inability" to answer the problems of our time and to be an ideological manual for action under contemporary conditions, as well as the concept of the need to "rebuild" Marxism and create some kind of "new," "Western Marxism." Others simply classify Marxism among the ideological "rags" of the 19th century and, at best, assign to it the same type of honorary position in the pantheon of the history of philosophical and social ideas as, for example, to Plato's theory.

The paradox is that all such negative phenomena arose under circumstances in which 20th century world history had already developed a tremendous amount of new, unparalleled experience in terms of wealth and variety of forms, and when the contemporary revolution in science and technology and its social consequences not only confirm the dialectical-materialistic nature of Marxism-Leninism but also create real opportunities for its reaching a new, a higher stage of creative development. Such illusions appear while not only our success but also our errors, deformations and failures confirm that the theory of Marx and Lenin is true, and when the majority of the most important bourgeois philosophical, sociological, economic and other theories have experienced and are experiencing the influence of Marxism-Leninism or else arise and develop as its "alternatives," and when in contemporary natural science in frequent cases and even under the conditions of the crisis of bourgeois philosophy, materialism and dialectical materialism appear.

The tasks of socialism and mankind, which stem from the experience of world history after Lenin and the contemporary revolution in science and technology, objectively demand a conversion to a new, a higher stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. The evolution of ideas in the 20th century proves that there are no alternatives to the historical role and vocation of Marxism-Leninism any more than there are alternatives to socialism and communism.

Unfortunately, this new and higher stage in the development of Marxism has not occurred yet. Many important problems of real socialism, contemporary capitalism, the developing countries, the global revolutionary process, the scientific and technical revolution in connection with the practice of building socialism, international relations, war and peace, ecology, human knowledge and other theoretical problems, which are of tremendous importance to sociohistorical practice, are still awaiting their contemporary Marxist-Leninist development. This is one of the main contradictions of our time, the solution of which is the task of international communist movement, above all that of the communist parties in the socialist countries, their theoretical cadres and their institutions. Nonetheless, this is the time for the new

stage to begin in the development of Marxism-Leninism, which is also the crucial time (as described by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary) of the final 15 years of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st.

This is a stage of transition from one century to another and, at the same time, of a qualitatively new status of socialist society, a time of profound, crucial and essentially revolutionary changes in the base and the superstructure of socialist society, the purpose of which is to bring to light the comprehensive superiority and considerably greater attractiveness of socialism compared with the development of capitalism.

The advent of a crucial period in the development of socialism was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress and the latest congresses of the communist and worker parties of CEMA members. Our countries jointly formulated and adopted the comprehensive program for scientific and technical development until the year 2000, and each party formulated and adopted its own program for the economic, social, scientific and technical, political and cultural development of its country.

The formulation and adoption of such programs forced Marxist-Leninist theoreticians to engage in tremendous creative work. At the same time, it raised the urgent need for radical changes in terms of the problems, forms, approaches and style of activities in the creative development, teaching, dissemination and utilization of Marxist-Leninist theory. Such activities, which are exceptionally comprehensive and rich in terms of problems and content, were also characteristic of the BCP, particularly in the course of the preparations for and holding of the February 1985 and January 1986 BCP Central Committee Plenums, the 13th Party Congress (April 1986) and the post-congress period.

It is thus that the BCP not only enriched its theoretical treasury but also made a contribution to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory throughout the world. Setting its contribution aside, for it is presented in the corresponding party documents, which have been translated into a number of foreign languages, let me express, albeit briefly, my view on some problems and tasks raised by this transitional period.

The most important among them is to bring to light and substantiate the historical need at this transitional stage to indicate the volume and nature of the problems and tasks which will be solved during this period, the conditions and ways and means of solving them and the importance of this stage to socialism and world history.

This is a tremendous task which requires the joint efforts of Marxist theoreticians of all countries and of all social, natural and technical sciences and all areas of culture, linked by dialectical-materialistic methodology, within a single, dynamically advancing system, open and receptive to any new idea or method which has proved its scientific and heuristic nature in the process of free creative discussions, scientific and artistic creativity or sociohistorical practice. A decisive change is needed in terms of the problems, ways and means of work, in ties among individual parts of



this system, in the dynamics and scale of its influence on life and in the criteria used in assessing its accomplishments.

In the history of a society, as in the history of a science, theory, or culture, crucial times do not appear accidentally, by order of a "boss" or as a result of any sort of subjective decision. They are the result of the objective dialectics of preceding historical developments. That is why times of change, such as the one we are entering, are, above all, times of profound reinterpretation of reality and the values of the preceding historical period with the help of Marxist-Leninist criteria, based on dialectical materialism and the superior accomplishments of contemporary scientific knowledge and progressive world practice.

In precisely the same manner we can determine which of our old ideas, methods and forms of work have passed the test of history and can be used by us a reliable foundation in present and future activities; what point had we reached in the ascending process of global civilization; in what areas of our activities and by virtue of what reasons had we fallen behind; what urgent problems and tasks of the immediate and distant past remain unresolved; what are the problems--old and new--which we must solve today and tomorrow; and how can we solve them?

The moment we raise such questions in their three historical dimensions--the past, the present and the future--we are bound to reach the conclusion that the immediate and more distant historical past has left us many significant achievements. However, it also left us a huge cluster of vitally important but unsolved theoretical problems, obsolete or erroneous methods, criteria and forms of work or simply distortions and deformations. We thus came across the paradoxical fact that both in the socialist countries and elsewhere the basic components of Marxism-Leninism--philosophy, sociology, political economy and the theory of scientific communism--were not given a sufficient creative development. Even a brief reference would indicate that for decades in the socialist countries it is precisely in these areas of knowledge that the least number of governmental and other prizes were awarded, if at all, for scientific achievements in the area of the theory of real socialism and the global revolutionary process.

Why does this take place?

The reasons are numerous and must be firmly eliminated from the very beginning of this crucial time. Allow me to indicate a few of them.

It was Engels himself who wrote that as socialism turns into a science it must be treated as a science. The development of Marxism-Leninism, like any science, must obey the merciless objective dialectical laws, the violation of which brings incalculable losses to the theory and the practice of Marxism-Leninism.

The dialectics of science is infinitely democratic. At the same time, however, it demands the strictest possible order and methodological discipline.

Its profoundly democratic nature is that it does not recognize any boundaries and, consequently, any kind of taboo or monopoly on the scientific development of any problem related to human knowledge. It is democratic because to it the free struggle of ideas--the scientific debate--is a law.

It demands the strictest possible order and methodological discipline, for the purpose of scientific research is nothing but the truth--the objective truth, based not on faith in the infallibility of various celestial or earthly authorities and even less so on the now resurrected and greatly popularized ancient superstitions but on scientific proof provided through the application of the laws of formal and dialectical logic, on investigation of any conclusion and its comparison with unquestionably proven scientific truths and facts, experimentation and, in general, practical experience in the broadest possible meaning of the term.

It is easy to realize, from this viewpoint, that the task of rostrums of Marxist-Leninist thinking, such as the theoretical journals of the Marxist-Leninist parties, is not only and mainly to disseminate already established truths. They can fulfill their purpose only when they begin to play the role of initiators in the formulation and theoretical elaboration of new problems which proceed from historical experience and universal human knowledge, and when it is precisely on their pages that scientific debates are developed most intensively, when they stimulate original creative thinking and searching, when they daringly lead Marxist thinking into the area of the unknown; when they daringly oppose any and all beliefs, ideas, methods and practical actions and phenomena which are incompatible with the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist society and its democratic nature, way of life, morality and culture.

Both the appearance and the creative development of Marxism-Leninism are related to the dialectical-materialistic interpretation of historical experience and, particularly, the achievements of the natural and social sciences. In that connection, this crucial period formulates major tasks and offers broad opportunities for the development of creative Marxist-Leninist thinking. However, the implementation of these possibilities depends on a number of circumstances.

First, on the link between dialectical materialistic philosophers and social practice, and their interested study of contemporary scientific knowledge, their specialization in at least a single area of scientific research, where they can confidently sum up achievements in a given scientific area not only theoretically, and not only develop its philosophical methodology, but prove, through practical scientific research, the heuristic role of and need for the methodology of dialectical materialism.

Second, on decisively upgrading the Marxist-Leninist methodological training of the men of science and culture themselves. The new stage in Marxism-Leninism which would be consistent with the needs of our crucial time cannot be reached until scientists working in the various fields of science and culture have not adopted the dialectical-materialistic philosophy as something necessary to any researcher.

In the final account, all problems and tasks of this time of change are synthesized and find their concentrated manifestation in the dialectics of the combination and interaction among the socialist and the contemporary scientific and technical revolution and in mastering the dynamically developing scientific and technical revolution so that it may become the foundation of all areas of socialist development and for the socialist community to assume a leading role in the development of problems and the practical utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

Such is the main task of our time of change, to which all other tasks are subordinated. It is difficult. It is so difficult that those who consider it from the viewpoints of national or regional frameworks may view it as utopian. To real socialism, however, no alternative for such a task exists, as Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary, has repeatedly emphasized with full justification. Historically, there can be no progress for socialism without solving it, even if simply, for the sake of our own pleasure, we classify socialism as "developed" or "mature." Unless we consider the dimensions of this task from the real possibilities of the world socialist community, from the viewpoint of the historical creativity of the masses, inspired by Marxist-Leninist ideas on revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action and their historical independence under the conditions of full socialist democracy and self-government, the dimensions of this tremendous task assume a realistic outline which fills us with historical optimism and unshakable faith in the victorious progress of mankind toward communism.

Those who do not fear to look at the bitter truth in the eyes must agree that the root of all manifestations of indifferent and uninvolved attitude toward the economic, social, political and cultural problems and tasks of building socialism, all stagnation processes, deformations and crisis situations in the socialist world lies in the gross violation of the principles of socialist democracy and the alienation of state and other management and administrative authorities from the masses.

It is for that reason that socialist democracy, the involvement of the masses in all management functions and submitting all leading authorities and individuals to the real control of the toiling masses, headed by the working class and guided by the communist parties, the elimination of any individual and group privileges, and the uncompromising implementation of the socialist principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work," become effective levers in solving all problems of building socialism, including the major historical task of combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with socialist production relations and allowing the socialist countries to assume a leading role in the development of that revolution itself.

The question of socialist democracy is one of the theoretically most developed in Marxist-Leninist works, for the simple reason that it is the most important practical problem of any true socialist revolution. Marx, Engels and Lenin themselves provided an exceptionally clear and thorough answer to the questions of what is socialist democracy, what role do the people's masses play in a socialist revolution and in a socialist state, in relations among

people, in socialist society, in building socialism and in historical creativity. They left us firm, clear and categorical warnings about hidden dangers in shaping the system of socialist democracy, which could be encountered by the victorious socialist state, threatening its deformation.

Therefore, the theoretical premises for the urgent practical development of socialist democracy have existed for a long time. This increases even further the urgency of attaining the main objective of Marxist-Leninist theory: the theoretical interpretation of the real process of development of socialist statehood and socialist democracy in the entire variety of its forms, with strict Marxist-Leninist principle-mindedness, and answering the theoretical questions of perfecting socialist democracy in times of transition. Its implementation will determine the viability, power and victorious advance of real socialism, the infecting, attracting and inspiring force of its example, the scope and pace of growth of the global revolutionary process, and the successes achieved in the struggle waged by the peoples for safeguarding peace and solving all global problems of our time and the fate of mankind. Generally speaking, progress in the area of democracy is the main criterion and basic prerequisite for the historical progress of society and for the viability and advantages of one social system over another.

## II

The slogan of the creative approach to Marxist-Leninist theory and ideology is not new. Actually, it has always been present in party decisions and party propaganda. In fact, however, this slogan was understood, considered mandatory and used essentially in explaining, disseminating and applying already established truths formulated in the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics, official party documents and addresses by leaders of communist and worker parties.

Naturally, the creative application of already developed ideas, concepts and theories was and remains a mandatory prerequisite for leading an efficient ideological life and in the practical activities of the communist party and socialist society. The interpretation and dissemination of the works of the classics and party documents requires theoretical standards, talent and propaganda skills and the ability to capture the attention of readers and listeners, to convince them of the accuracy of such ideas and to see to it that they become their inner convictions and manuals for action. All of this is also creativity. However, it is a creativity of a different kind, as distinct from theoretical and scientific creativity.

The latter presumes and includes the mastery, interpretation and dissemination of already established truths. However, its qualitative feature is heuristics, the formulation of new ideas, the development of hypotheses and theories, and the creation of new knowledge. The power of this knowledge is based not on respect for statement made by a superior or discipline, but on scientific study of sociohistorical practice and objective truth, proved in the course of free scientific debates.

The power, durability and scale of influence of "Das Kapital," "Anti-Duhring," "What Is to Be Done?," "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," "Imperialism as the

Higher Stage of Capitalism," and other works by the Marxist classics are not the result of decisions reached at leading party fora or consequences of some kind of universally mandatory discipline. These works are the result and model of profound scientific studies and of the strictest possible evaluation and summation of the achievements of the world history of ideas, human knowledge, the struggle waged by social classes and different social systems and global culture. They have withstood the test of the uncompromising struggle of ideas and historical practice not in a little corner of the world but in the world arena. It seems to me, therefore, that in discussing the need for the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, we do not always realize the scale and difficulties of this task, particularly now, in our crucial time.

First of all, as we know, Marxism-Leninism is not a national or regional but an international doctrine. For that reason it cannot develop on the basis of the historical experience and intellectual forces of a single country or part of the world. It was no accident that Lenin emphasized that the revolutionary theory of the greatest liberation movement of the oppressed class, of the most revolutionary class in history, "cannot be fabricated," or mechanically assembled from the theoretical accomplishments of Marxists of individual countries, for "it developed from the sum total of the revolutionary experience and revolutionary thinking of all countries in the world" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 27, p 11). The Marxist-Leninist classics--Marx, Engels and Lenin--and all outstanding Marxist theoreticians participated in the creation and advancement of this great revolutionary doctrine not on the basis of national exclusivity but through the theoretical study and summation of the universal historical experience of all mankind, studying the nature of any phenomenon above all in its most mature aspect.

World history consists of the history of individual countries and nations in the world. However, it is more than the simple mechanical summation of the history of such countries and nations. As universal history, it is the dialectical unity not only of original, different but also opposite and mutually exclusive components, an integral global system which is the only possible road to explaining and clarifying the appearance, existence and historical destinies of its individual components and groups of components. In turn, the nature, development and future of universal history as an integral system depend on the changes which take place in its components.

In order to determine the objective dialectics of what is unique, specific and common within each individual country, and the place and functions of this country in the system of world history and its interaction with the remaining components of the system and with the system as a whole, and the objective dialectics of the global revolutionary process and of world history in general, the Marxist must approach this objective dialectical reality precisely from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism. He must study all phenomena in the variety of their connections, in their dynamics. The creative enrichment of Marxism-Leninism is possible only when the Marxist researcher does not stop at national barriers, when the object of his study could be the positive as well as the negative experience of any country. In the opposite case, national exclusivity inevitably converts Marxism--a theory cast of a single piece of steel--into something like a gypsy tent, made of

ragged together but of different size, form and color. It would lose its significance as an international scientific revolutionary theory aimed at attaining universal historical objectives.

Second, today the world is considerably more complex, contradictory and dynamic than ever before. Today countries with different and even opposite social systems coexist and interact. They form entire "worlds"--the "socialist world," the "capitalist world" and the "world of developing countries." Within these "worlds" there is a wide range of levels of development of regional, national, ethnic, economic, cultural-historical, religious, political and other features. It is on the basis of such objective sociohistorical realities that a tremendous number of strangely interwoven and vitally important problems arise. The creative development of Marxism-Leninism depends precisely on the theoretical solution of such problems which, in turn, presumes the existence of certain circumstances without which this could remain merely a wish.

A detailed consideration of these problems cannot be provided in this article. However, should it be necessary to point out a few of the most important prerequisites, priority should go to the training of a sufficient number of skilled theoretical cadres.

It is only in the socialist countries that a huge army of "scientific workers" is at work in the social sciences. However, a high percentage of this army is unable to engage in creative scientific research or to restructure itself for such work. Another significant segment does have the ability of engaging in scientific research. However, its members have conceived of their scientific activities as interpreting, disseminating and applying already established truths--old or new--for the sake of shaping a certain type of social consciousness. They lack the necessary training to engage in fully original--individual or collective--creative theoretical work for the development and enrichment of the Marxist doctrine with new ideas. A third group of "scientific workers" is engaged in real research and creative scientific work but is too narrowly specialized, for which reason it is unable independently to solve basic and more or less complex socioscientific and philosophical problems. The solution of such problems is difficult even for specialists with broader training, who can deal with basic problems in a specific scientific area.

It is unlikely to expect any contribution to the creative intensification of Marxist-Leninist theory consistent with the requirements of our time and, particularly, of our times of change on the part of a historian, for example, unless he has solid Marxist-Leninist training in philosophy, sociology, social psychology, political economy, scientific communism, the theory of culture, and so on, or if he lacks a clear philosophical-historical and theoretical concept of the historical process, its motive forces and objective laws, specifics of historical knowledge, and knowledge of the philosophical methodology of his own subject, and so on. This applies to representatives of all social and natural sciences. For example, how many historians, economists, specialists in scientific communism, physicists, biologists, astronomers or other scientists can deal with general theoretical, conceptual, philosophical and philosophical-methodological developments and summations on

the basis of the achievements of their specific scientific activities? Unfortunately, their number is very small.

This serious shortcoming can be eliminated by organizing joint scientific research activities by representatives of individual sciences and philosophers, with a view to solving so-called comprehensive problems. This method of organization of scientific research plays and will continue to play an increasing role. However, regardless of how well the efforts of the individual members of such collectives are coordinated, the coordination itself has been and, to a certain extent, will remain mechanical. This makes it difficult to achieve the necessary scope and depth of creative process by a scientist who is a combination of a researcher in one specific scientific area or another and a thinker-philosopher.

Here as well we face the problem of the profile of the scientist--working in the social or natural sciences--and the philosopher of our time. The history of creative Marxism-Leninism and the history of the individual sciences and philosophy indicate that major discoveries in Marxism-Leninism and in science and philosophy in general, have been the result not of limited and strictly specialized individuals but, if one may say so, of philosophers thinking on several levels and research scientists. Marxism-Leninism would never have been created or developed had its founders--Marx, Engels and Lenin--not been philosophers, economists, sociologists, theoreticians of communism, ethicists, political thinkers and workers, all at the same time.

The objection may be voiced that in our time the steadily intensifying differentiation and specialization in the individual sciences and facing scientists with such requirements would bring about, in the best of cases, to an amateurish approach to scientific and philosophical knowledge. The facts indicate, however, that such requirements, at least as far as the higher level of scientists who create major science is concerned, are quite legitimate today. Numerous examples prove that in addition to differentiation, there is a legitimate and inevitable integration between scientific knowledge and research. They are the result of the objective dialectics of contemporary science which makes possible the development of such scientists. The more there are such people, the more possibilities will exist for the accelerated development of science.

The active, broad and dynamic creative activities aimed at enriching Marxism-Leninism in accordance with the imminent needs of our crucial time presume radical changes in the conditions and the atmosphere in which our ideological life and theoretical activities have taken place so far. A true change in the style of theoretical work and in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory is impossible other than through the daring formulation of new ideas and irreconcilable struggle against obsolete, conservative and simply erroneous ideas and views. In his article "The Honest Voice of a French Socialist," in which he expressed his agreement with Paul Golet, the noted socialist, Lenin wrote: "A French philosopher said that bad ideas are those which are dressed in exquisite clothing, ideas which lack sharpness and daring. They are dead because they are part of a general circulation and of the ordinary intellectual baggage of the great army of philistines. The strong ideas are

those which promote and trigger scandal, which trigger indignation, anger and irritation in some and enthusiasm in others" (op cit., vol 27, pp 9-10).

Naturally, in agreeing with these thoughts, Lenin did not believe in the least that any kind of scandal in science of theory should be welcomed and encouraged as necessary to the development of scientific knowledge and as a sign of progress. The exploits and gains of creationism in the United States is one of the major scandals in contemporary scientific life. However, it has no scientific value, although it boasts of being a "science" ("creation science"). What Lenin had in mind was what Marx had said in his "Notes on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction," and he firmly opposed "modesty" in scientific research. "The truth," he wrote, "has as little modesty as light..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 1, p 6). He also said that "if modesty is a characteristic feature of research, it is rather a feature of fear of truth than a fear of lies. Modesty is a means which fetters all of my advances. It is fear of conclusions, prescribed from above. It is a preventive means against the truth" (op cit., vol 1, p 6). Many years later, academician P. Kapitsa described this scientific "immodesty" as "creative disobedience," noting sadly that "in the field of the humanities today obedience is valued much more highly" (P. Kapitsa, "On Creative Disobedience." NAUKA I ZHIZN, No 2, 1987, p 82).

"Modesty" and "noncreative obedience" in theory and science means the death of scientific knowledge and favorable grounds for the growth of creative subservience, which is the most degrading and dangerous form of subservience, for it promotes a universal subservience which, in turn, is absolutely incompatible with a revolutionary, a critical style of thinking, behaving and acting. Equally harmful to science and socialist practice is the endless, the absolute tolerance of absolutely all views and ideas. To Golet's statement that "we do not accuse anyone," Lenin objected: "That is your error, comrade Golet!" (op cit., vol 27, p 12). For he who struggles for the truth, and for progress in science, practice, politics and culture, cannot fail to struggle against those who defend conservative and regressive views and errors, and against anything which stupefies the masses, which hinders our progress on the path of socialism and the triumph of scientific truth and sociohistorical progress.

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## PEDAGOGICAL INNOVATION YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 87 (signed to press 3 Jun 87) pp 96-102

[Article by Artur Vladimirovich Petrovskiy, academician, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, head of the laboratory of psychology of the individual, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Scientific Research Institute of General and Pedagogical Psychology]

[Text] I was told of the following amusing dialogue:

"Hello, saboteur!" one friend greeted another, using Bulgakov's expression.

"Why saboteur?"

"Well what else? Where do you work? At the Institute of Psychology. And where is that institute? At the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. And under what department is the academy? The department of education. You are, therefore, a saboteur...."

Actually, there is nothing amazing in this. This is what has been happening of late: There is hardly any sin in the field of education of which journal and newspaper articles have not accused the education department! It is noteworthy that when good things are being written about innovative educators or, for example, when the USSR APN is criticized (our very time makes this necessary), it is somehow forgotten that in the past or the present some of the academy's members were people such as V.A. Sukhomlinskiy, L.V. Zankov, D.B. Elkonin, V.N. Shatskaya, D.B. Kabalevskiy, V.V. Davydov, Kh.I. Liymets, Sh.A. Amonashvili and B.M. Nemenskiy, while A.I. Meshcheryakov, M.P. Shchetinin, B.P. Nikitin, A.Kh. Kuchkarov and many others were academy associates. Incidentally, it was precisely the academy which published the books of V.F. Shatalov, M.P. Shchetinin, Ye.N. Ilin, I.P. Volkov and S.N. Lysenkova and who objected whenever authors were criticized and wrongly accused. Let us immediately point out that, as in all others, today in this scientific institution a difficult struggle is being waged between the new and the old. We cannot predict the time of its conclusion but the outcome is clear: Today no one has any chance of holding on to the vestiges of the old, to swim with the current. This applies to both individuals and departments.

By no means everything in the implementation of the school reform is going smoothly. Should we seek the culprits? Is it the various ministries of education? Is it the local authorities? Is it pedagogical institutes and universities? Or is it the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences? If a decision is needed as to what must be done in order to surmount specific difficulties, we must also establish the degree of responsibility of everyone and formulate accurate assignments and skillfully supervise their implementation. However, if we were to study the profound reasons which have brought about the present situation, I believe that the culprit will not be found. The present situation developed after a long period and reflects events, trends and phenomena which occurred in the past and the negative influence of which must be eliminated with the help of the restructuring process.

The January CPSU Central Committee Plenum decree "On Restructuring and Party Cadre Policy" stipulates that "...By the turn of the 1980s the country began to lose its pace of progress. Difficulties and unsolved problems began to accumulate in the economic, social and spiritual areas; stagnation and other phenomena alien to socialism appeared." Difficulties and unsolved problems piled up in the educational area as well.

"The people's teacher," V.I. Lenin wrote, "in our country must be elevated to a height he has never reached, or will ever reach in bourgeois society" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 365). This Leninist instruction was constantly quoted in the past as well without, however, being properly implemented.

This statement has an extension which was quoted much less frequently: "This is a self-evident truth. We must reach this state of affairs through systematic, steady and persistent work for his spiritual upsurge and all-round training for his truly lofty position and, above everything else, the enhancement of his material status" (ibid., p 366). It is only in recent years that radical changes have been made in the situation of teachers as a professional community. A substantial increase in wages and the granting of titles to teachers have contributed to a substantial improvement in their well-being and increased reputation. Today the management of a number of VUZs and scientific research institutes face the real problem of how to retain capable young associates who try to be transferred to schools where working conditions seem to them to be more promising. Compared with the educators in prerevolutionary schools, which V.I. Lenin described as "schools for drilling, regimentation and rote," the Soviet teachers must display a special spiritual uplift. Only thus will they be able to reach the standards needed by our society. Pedagogical creativity is this qualitative distinction. The process of pedagogical creativity, which was intensive in the 1920s (at that time foreign specialists wrote that the education departments throughout the world should have permanent representatives in Soviet Russia) increasingly slowed down and abated. Teachers' activeness yielded to reaction (to orders, instructions, method letters, etc.). This was the precise situation which prevailed in the last decade.

It is true that at a time when many civilian departments had been given insignia and school students were put in uniforms, teachers were not asked to don a uniform tailored as prescribed by the Ministry of Public Education which

was closed down with the revolution. However, a uniform cut was frequently apparent in the standard image of the educator and was manifested in the nature of the requirements he had to meet. "We cannot consider positive the experience of an educator who goes beyond the limits of the curriculum," we read in a pedagogical manual of 1982. The creativity of the teacher and active pedagogical research were considered with poorly concealed astonishment and sometimes with irritation, for why were such innovations needed when "the method" stipulated everything. The conservative segment of managers of public education and pedagogy firmly opposed any innovator, considering him a direct threat to the rosy-colored concept of the condition of the training and upbringing of the growing generation.

If nonetheless an innovative educator, breaking through the neglect, found himself crowned with laurels, he was canonized (most frequently posthumously) and henceforth other educators were exhorted, in his name, to abstain from disturbing the calm. Was this not the case with the outstanding ideas of A.S. Makarenko which were used as handy tools by the end of the 1960s, in an effort to emasculate the results of V.A. Sukhomlinskiy's achievements in educational creativity! It was claimed, in that case, with stupid persistence, that allegedly Makarenko's pedagogy conflicted with the "abstract humanism" of the Pavlysh teacher.

A great deal of time had to pass before the lights of the concert hall in Ostankino would start burning, illuminating to millions of viewers the faces and accomplishments of Sh.A. Amonashvili, V.F. Shatalov, Ye.N. Ilin, I.P. Volkov and other "disturbers of tranquillity." I recall an impressive event recently witnessed on television. In a meeting with V.F. Shatalov, a psychologist, using scientific arguments and charts, tried to explain the didactic views of this popular educator. Something unexpected happened then. Not only Viktor Fedorovich himself but also most of the audience in the hall took this direct and clear support as an attack and "rebuffed" the confused and chagrined speaker. We unwittingly think of how strong was the psychological feeling of the educator and his readiness to repel an attack and, obviously, how frequently he had been forced to expect and repel all kinds of sallies. Even the teachers who were present among the audience obviously expected the mounting of such attacks on this innovator....

V.A. Sukhomlinskiy died in 1970. Shortly before his death he was made Hero of Socialist Labor. Finally, recognition seemed to have come.... Nonetheless, the idiosyncratic attitude toward his pedagogical creativity did not disappear in many rather influential individuals. One of them advised me when I, as the only representative of the Moscow establishments, had flown to attend the funeral of Vasiliy Aleksandrovich: "At the funeral meeting in Pavlysh you may speak about anything you want, that he was a superb school principal, an outstanding teacher, a courageous soldier and a good family man.... For God's sake, however, do not discuss his pedagogical ideas...." Today this may seem difficult to believe but it is the truth. Need we say that, standing over the grave of this outstanding educator and facing his students and fellow villagers, I ignored such recommendations.... In 1979 I went to Tbilisi and, naturally, went to the laboratory of my old friend Shalva Aleksandrovich Amonashvili: "What is the matter, you seem sad, why?" "You see," I was told, "every morning, as we come to the laboratory, our first question is: Have

they still not closed us down? It is only then that we go on to teach the children." It turned out that the Georgian Ministry of Education had already closed down the laboratory but the order has still not been issued by the scientific research institute for pedagogical sciences.... In the preface to the book by Sh.A. Amonashvili "Zdravstvuyte, Deti!" [Hello, Children], in describing his work I used the metaphor "pedagogical symphony." At that time that kind of music was still being played on the quiet. Eight hard years had to pass before it could be performed at the Ostankino concert studio....

Is all of this worth mentioning? It is, for relations between public education as a system and pedagogical innovation, whatever its form, whether based on science or practical experience, objectively (and not only subjectively, as a result of the arbitrary or insensitive behavior of some officials) remain quite difficult. In a recent article on A.S. Pushkin I read one of his notes: "Inviolable order is the prime condition for the well-being of society. But how to harmonize this condition with the steady aspiration toward perfection?"

Such is precisely the problem which faces us today, in its entire urgency, for in recent decades it was being solved essentially in favor of the "inviolable order." This circumstance led to sad consequences in terms of progressive experience and hindered the creative initiative of teachers. No less detrimental were its consequences to the science of education. Priority was given to substantiating the need for and reasonability of maintaining an order issued by superiors concerning upbringing and education and, in extreme cases, making changes "prescribed from above." It is thus, I recall, that initially boys and girls began to be educated separately, after which the psychological substantiation of this step was considered. This was followed by a return to coeducation and, once again, this conversion was firmly substantiated only after a respective order was promulgated. However, neither the first nor the second seemingly unquestionable "substantiation" was based on research. Let me point out, incidentally, that I was surprised by the information reported by one of my associates on a debate which she had organized with eighth- and ninth-grade students in which both boys and girls, arguing their point, favored...separate education.

In years past did the science of education, on the basis of substantive scientific research, formulate major questions to the Ministry of Education? What about the question of the real standards and quality of night school? To the best of my knowledge, no such thing was done. But then did the ministry show any interest in the thorough and strictly objective study of this question? Now, after the school reform, one cannot believe that there was no need to do so. Furthermore, was the reform itself prepared within the framework of the science of education?

We shall not console ourselves with the idea that we cannot harness a team made of "a horse and a trembling doe." But if nonetheless we must hitch them as a team, we must somehow teach the doe to become part of the team rather than try to pretend that it is a donkey which can simply be hitched together with a horse to pull any kind of cart. The problem of scientifically backing the solutions of practical problems facing the national economy and culture triggered in its time the fruitful idea of developing sectorial academies of

sciences (VASKHNIL, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences). We can and must have sectorial academies and scientific sectors but not "departmental sciences." Science as a form of social consciousness is nondepartmental. Naturally, in answering the needs and demands of practical work, the ministries must set problems for science to solve, without which progress is impossible. However, the interrelationship between a department and a science must not be a one-way street.

Actually, there are assignments and assignments. Based on the suggestions of the USSR Ministry of Education, some scientific institutions have been given 1 year to draft "Methodical Recommendations on Problems of the All-Round Development of the Personality at All Stages of Education and Raising of Children, Starting With the Pre-School Age Group." I shall not comment on the scale of this task in relation to the form of the extremely brief life span of "methodical recommendations." Naturally, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences has not been given an order by the Ministry of Health to draw up recommendations on the radical curing of all patients from all diseases in polyclinics but had it received such an order, unquestionably, its reaction would be similar to ours. The management of a science of which, naturally, a profound understanding of practical problems is demanded, and the planning of research must be consistent with real possibilities. Administrative prescriptions in a serious matter could be as harmful as prohibiting experimentation or research. Means of responsible and just evaluation must be found applicable to scientific conclusions which are put to practical use as well as the factual results of progressive experience. The final result of the activities of the entire public education system, as applicable to the individual student who graduates from secondary school, also needs a responsible and strict "state inspection" which, as is entirely obvious, cannot be reduced merely to a rating of that specific department. Only then would we be able to observe "the prime condition for the well-being of society" to the extent to which it depends on a properly organized educational system.

But let us be objective. The trend toward the stabilization of the school system, understandably, would be very typical of any other structure. Adopting new approaches is not simply more troublesome but truly more difficult. It is hard to retrain millions of educators and to put in circulation new textbooks. The USSR APN has drafted a large number of textbooks for secondary schools and VUZs, method aids and psychological-pedagogical recommendations but double that number is needed. Furthermore, all of them must be better than the old ones. They must carry progressive ideas and methods to all school students (which number in the tens of millions), reorganize teaching in pedagogical institutes and pedagogical schools, etc. Today, however, despite all real difficulties, the trend toward stabilization in education needed extensive and long "coordinations with the tireless desire for improvements." In the opposite case, the former would turn into conservatism and the latter would wither on the vine. Nonetheless, this sets an obligation to the science of education and turns our hopes for its development and for the dissemination of progressive pedagogical experience toward the scientists and teachers who have long felt restrained by the parade uniforms which were worn in accordance with yesterday's school routines.

It is no accident that I put science and progressive experience side by side. I know, for example, that V.F. Shatalov has been frequently subject to hostile criticism. He was accused of having reinvented the bicycle, for drafting abstracts and basic blocks are old familiar methods! Yes, these are familiar things. The studies conducted by my colleagues psychologists A.A. Smirnov, L.V. Zankov, which were completed as early as 30 years ago, proved that making summaries in which basic blocks or "landmarks" would be emphasized (short formulas, clear examples, etc.) ensures a logical memory and successful mastery of the material. However, all of this does not belittle in the least the merits of a creatively working educator who teaches students (and teachers who practice under him) how to do this, who develops methods which intensify thinking and the memorization processes of schoolchildren, who uses science as a weapon rather than stores it in memory banks. Above all, such an educator "passes on" to other teachers his own individuality and impassionate desire to introduce something new in school life. In the final account, the hearts and minds of teachers acquire a sufficient amount of fuel which could and should be set afire when exposed to the sparks of educational talent. K.D. Ushinskiy wrote that what is shared is the thought based on an experience but not the experience itself. Allow me to add that it is equally important, along with a fruitful idea, to share the excitement accompanying the search for ideas, with which the teacher addresses himself to science and to his personal experience.

In speaking of the unity between pedagogical science and progressive experience, we must mention the easily noticeable trends of the actual denial of the very possibility of such an alliance. Interest in innovative educators is supported by the critical enthusiasm of some journalists who, in praising such educators, are prepared less to combine pedagogical innovation with science than to replace it with the practical experience of teachers. In the course of a conversation I mentioned efforts which, in my view, were detrimental, of questioning the real value of pedagogical and psychological knowledge in the schools. My interlocutor exclaimed, horrified: "What! Do you really intend to write about this?! Listen here, you will be immediately classified as a reactionary. You must not! You must never do it! Look at the times in which we live!"

The times in which we live I understand precisely. These are times when one should not fear to tell the truth whatever the circumstances, without looking back, fearing abuse from superiors or being booed from below or from the side. Science and progressive experience are inseparable from each other. As we know, all theoretical disciplines, which naturally include psychology and pedagogy, are based on practical experience. In the course of their development, they have repeatedly turned to experience, enriching it and ensuring transitions in the ascension from the abstract to the concrete. Marxism rejects both belittling theory and its identification with practice, even if it is progressive and innovative, as well as scholastic theorizing, in the course of which science is separated from practice. At the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, once again M.S. Gorbachev recalled Lenin's thought that the value of theory lies in the precise presentation "of all contradictions which exist in life." It does not follow in the least from the fact that in some pedagogical works a great deal of meaningless verbosity may be found that there is no live discussion and theoretical depth has been

emasculated, that science could be replaced by a simple sum of successes achieved by talented educators.

At the beginning of the 1970s I was a member of the international commission of UNESCO on the development of education. I could only be pleased by the high marks which foreign experts gave at our sessions to the Soviet preschool education system, which they acknowledged as the best in the world. The general concept and psychological substantiation of this system had been developed by the USSR APN. They were backed by the works of A.V. Zaporozhets, A.P. Usova and Ye.A. Flerina. Also highly rated is the scientific program and system for psychological-pedagogical support of the process of training and educating children with defective development, in nine different types of special schools, developed by the academy. It is no accident that the Scientific Research Institute of Defectology has become a kind of Mecca for foreign specialists. Every year it is visited by hundreds of educators from all over the world to study the impressive accomplishments of Soviet psychologists and educators. The concept of developing education, based on the works of the outstanding Soviet psychologist L.S. Vygotskiy, has become a guideline for anything progressive which is being created today in educational practices; the theory of gradual development of mental actions formulated by P.Ya. Galperin is giving all indications of becoming the base for a purposeful development of the mental processes and attention of schoolchildren; the works of I.A. Smirnov and P.I. Zinchenko, on the organization of the memory process, and the ideas of V.V. Davydov on meaningful summation in the development of cognitive processes contain an as yet unused potential for the mental development of children. All of this and many others must become objects of constant attention and must be informally applied in school activities. A nihilistic view on pedagogy and psychology could cause considerable harm to the school reform. In any case, it would be no lesser than a scornful attitude toward the progressive experience of teachers.

The party documents emphasize the need for the USSR APN to make a sharp turn toward the needs of public education practices. We consider this an urgent, a vital task. However, it is obvious that we must not apply the "all together" principle. However necessary the sharpness of such a turn may be, it is not a one-time act but a difficult process, which sometimes develops dramatically, and the success of which largely depends on the counteractivities of institutions which can ensure the practical utilization of the results of scientific research. In the science of pedagogy restructuring has turned out to be more difficult than we imagined at the time when the academy was becoming involved in solving the problems raised by the school reform. We must surmount the stereotypes of thinking and the durable attitude toward many most important areas of training and upbringing. The task of accelerating the formulation of basic concepts for the professional training of teachers, computerization of training, vocational guidance of students, labor upbringing and a new type of primary education are of prime significance. In this case, changes for the better are taking place slowly although noticeably. Thus, the Scientific Research Institute for Artistic Upbringing, which was justly criticized in KOMMUNIST, most seriously turned to the outstanding experience of USSR APN Academician D.B. Kabalevskiy. After a long hesitation, the USSR APN Presidium expressed its active support for the new program for artistic education in the graphic arts which was formulated and, I would say,

personally seen through by B.M. Nemenskiy, secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Painters and USSR APN corresponding member, and his associates. This program, which is aimed at providing a profound esthetic mastery of reality by secondary school students, was experimentally tested. It is radically opposed to the current concept which emphasizes mainly the depiction of basic objects and simple forms (cubes, globes, etc.) which impoverish the world of feelings of the child, making him blind to beauty. Today the future of teaching graphic arts and artistic work in secondary general education schools will depend on the final conclusions provided by the USSR Ministry of Education.

One thing is obvious today. We must create all the necessary conditions for pedagogical creativity, not alienated from science, to be the rule rather than the exception in the daily activities of our general education system. It must be given absolute priority over the customary but obsolete pedagogical views and over paper shuffling which puts an excessive load on the teachers, opposing petty inspections and snubbing, and which rates the work of educators on the basis of the number of optimistic grades and implemented projects. The skill of a manager in the department of education must, in my view, be largely predetermined by the ability to recognize new developments in scientific and practical pedagogical work and the skill and ability to provide for it the most favorable environment. In addition to scientific pedagogical institutions, on the rayon, oblast and republic levels the public education authorities must not feel horror when a creative search goes beyond the boundaries of regulations and instructions. It is important to prevent the supremacy of views that one must not interfere with regulation requirements and stereotypes sanctified by time, not to mention the "aspiration to improve" on an experiment unlike those who support only the idea of the "inviolable order."

Whether or not we shall be able to find a proper correlation between the necessary stability in the educational system and the equally necessary dynamism, without running idle and without breakdowns, will determine the future of our school and the most important features of the Soviet society of the future. I believe that this range of problems will not be ignored at the forthcoming all-union teachers' congress.

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## ROAD OF RENOVATION AND RESTRUCTURING

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[Article by Yevgeniy Pavlovich Glazunov, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] The Vietnamese people live and work under the sign of the resolutions of the 6th VCP Congress (15-18 December 1986), which turned a new page in its history. This congress, which was held in the spirit of the Leninist ideas, in a business-like and exigent atmosphere, proved the ability of the party to adopt an innovative approach to understanding the problems facing the country and formulated the key tasks of society in building socialism over the next 5 years. As the resolution indicates, the congress "was a major crucial step which combined continuity with renovation in the party's leading activities in the political, ideological and organizational areas." It was also noted, with full justification, that this opens a new era in the development of the SRV.

Today thousands upon thousands of VCP organizations are engaged in daily painstaking efforts to implement the resolutions of the congress. They are harnessing the working people in the republic to surmount difficulties and eliminate shortcomings in the country's socioeconomic life. A contributing factor here is the expanded study of the documents of the party forum by party and non-party members, as "the first step in the renovated way of thinking of the party." The activities of party organizations on all levels are becoming increasingly consistent with the new requirements.

In summing up the results of the building of socialism in Vietnam in the past 5 years, the 6th VCP Congress provided a profound, objective and self-critical evaluation of successes and failures and formulated the party's tasks on the further progress of the country toward socialism. It was pointed out that in the past 5 years (1981-1985) Vietnam's economy substantially developed in all areas. Agricultural production showed an average annual rate of increase of 4.9 percent, compared with 1.9 percent in 1976-1980; industrial production averaged 9.5 percent as compared to 0.6 percent; correspondingly, the national income averaged an increase of 6.4 percent compared with 0.4 percent. During that time hundreds of large and thousands of medium and small enterprises were built in the SRV. Significant progress was made in the socialist reorganization of South Vietnam, where most peasants have converted to collective farming. An additional 4 million people found work in various economic sectors, which is important in a country in which millions of people

are either totally or partially unemployed. Substantial changes took place in shaping the new culture, science, technology, education, health care, literature and the arts. It can be said that Vietnam's development in the first half of the 1980s may be characterized as a whole by social progress and a strengthening of the socialist system and the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. In noting achievements in all areas of building socialism, the congress nonetheless acknowledged the existence of errors and shortcomings both in the implementation of the resolutions of the 4th and 5th VCP Congresses and in the decisions themselves: inefficient use of capital investments, lack of sufficiently clear concept of accelerated agricultural upsurge, underestimating the production of consumer goods and the need to intensify the development of heavy industry, and errors in restructuring the financial and monetary systems and in the wage reform, which had severe socioeconomic consequences.

The political reports to the congress emphasized that despite the growth, the volume of output turned out to be substantially lower than consumption, possibilities and outlays. The 5-year plan was not fulfilled for a number of basic indicators. Production efficiency and capital investments remained very low and, in many cases, are continuing to decline. Production facilities are operating at 50 percent of capacity. Labor productivity and quality of output are low. There is wasteful utilization of natural resources and no proper order has been introduced in distribution and trade. There is a high level of inflation and major economic disproportions remain. Many of even the minimal material and cultural needs of the people are not being met. Social justice is being violated and so are laws and discipline. Although obvious progress has been achieved in agricultural and industrial output, and although the 1979-1980 decline was stopped, the congress noted that the objectives which were set were not achieved; the socioeconomic situation and the living standards of the people have not been stabilized.

The reasons listed for this situation included subjectivism in management, haste, the wish to skip the necessary stages of development, the adverse effect of the "administrative-bureaucratic system of economic management" and the slowness and conservatism of the economic apparatus, which worsened it even further. In the hurry to eliminate non-socialist structures in the economy and immediately to convert the private capitalist sector into a state sector, cooperatives are being unjustifiably consolidated; central and local officials were in a hurry to change the economic management mechanism, which restricted the leading role of the state sector and hindered the utilization and reorganization of other economic structures.

In solving the problems of the country, the VCP tries to promote the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Vietnam, guided by the familiar Leninist concept that the party "must be able to apply the general and basic principles of communism to the characteristics of relations among classes and parties and the specific features in the objective development toward communism inherent in each individual country, in which one must know how to study, find or guess" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 74). In practice, however, even the systematic application of general principles does not always lead to success, not only because the natural desire to achieve targets as rapidly as possible

frequently yields unsatisfactory results and raises the question of the legitimacy of means and objectives, but also because of the immaturity of objective conditions for making socialist changes in the country.

The creation of the material and technical base for socialism in an underdeveloped country which, furthermore, was thoroughly dislocated by lengthy wars, is a matter of exceptional difficulty. Practical experience indicates that under such circumstances a conversion to socialism involves tremendous difficulties. Nonetheless, the experience of many countries, acquired in recent decades, has convincingly proved that such difficulties can be eliminated but only gradually, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory and the laws inherent of the transitional period.

With a low level of socioeconomic development, the reorganization of petty-commodity production in town and country which, as before, accounts for a considerable share of Vietnam's GNP, becomes particularly difficult. About 2 million people are employed in petty and craft industries in Vietnam, 74 percent of whom belong to cooperatives of various nature. Although by no means all cooperatives are working at full capacity, the restructuring of artisan work is enabling the state to direct its development more efficiently through a planned economy and to surmount the negative manifestations of petty commodity output. Furthermore, the establishment and consolidation, up to a certain point, of artisan cooperatives makes it possible to improve their level of management in accordance with contemporary requirements, to improve the organization of output, to upgrade labor productivity and the quality of output and to ensure the efficient utilization of existing equipment. However, such positive results can be achieved only in the course of a normal development of the cooperatives, without haste and formalism. Cooperation among peasants and artisans, accelerated through administrative methods, unwittingly becomes a self-seeking target and the cooperative loses its quality as a useful form of labor organization in which the working people themselves are most interested. The present stage in the country's development has made some corrections in the solution of this problem. Now, in addition to pursuing the establishment of cooperatives, greater attention is being paid to the efficient utilization and expansion of artisan industries as a whole.

The practical experience acquired in establishing and managing cooperatives required changes in the approach to such processes, as part of a more general need to perfect the entire system of economic management. Such problems are being extensively discussed today throughout the country. The essence of such quests can be expressed briefly as the optimally efficient combination of the interests of society, the collective and the individual working person. Last April's VCP Central Committee Politburo decree on expanding the rights of enterprises, noted that for the time being the administrative-bureaucratic management methods have still not been eliminated. Their elimination will require granting greater independence to enterprises, promoting the initiative of the working people and systematically implementing the principles of democratic centralism in management, which is hindered by customary forms of work and a corresponding way of thinking, which are convenient in terms of managing and to managers but inconvenient in terms of the managed areas.

In order to develop this resolution, in July 1986 the SRV Council of Ministers passed several decrees on expanding the rights of enterprises, including those of organizations engaged in material and technical procurements, and the rights of enterprises in making use of manpower and their wage fund, marketing finished products, price-setting, enhancing the efficiency of banking activities in concluding bilateral economic agreements, and so on. The Vietnamese press noted that the implementation of these decrees will require improvements in the entire management system and the revision of a number of laws, in particular those on labor and the trade unions, the regulation on state enterprises and the statutes of artisan and agricultural cooperatives.

Today the question of the renovation of the economic mechanism has become the subject of concern of the central and local party authorities which must guide and stimulate the economic initiative of each province, rayon, sector and enterprise and contribute to the active practical application of the achievements of science and technology and the strengthening of economic relations among the individual parts of the country.

Vietnam's economy is primarily agrarian. The old policy of accelerated industrialization was being implemented to the detriment of the development of agriculture and hindered the solution of an entire set of problems, such as increasing employment, developing new territories, ensuring food supplies, and broadening the raw material base for the processing industry.

Of late the process of redistribution of manpower is being intensified, with a view to opening to farming new areas totaling some 13.8 million hectares. This applies to foothills, hilly areas and coastal land in the maritime provinces. All we need is manpower for such neglected land to become fertile. That is why the resettlement of people from congested to underpopulated and underdeveloped areas and the conversion of nomads to a settled way of life are tasks of major importance to party, state and economic authorities.

The question of the more efficient use of areas under crops becomes much more urgent. In the past 5 years the overall amount of cultivated land has been declining every year for a variety of reasons (roads, housing, industrial construction, and so on), by nearly 6 percent and areas in rice by 7.9 percent, which is the equivalent of roughly 74 thousand hectares per year. Naturally, this objectively increases the importance of upgrading the yields of food crops. Here as well the working people in the Vietnamese countryside have already achieved some results. Between 1981 and 1985 the annual increase in rice production averaged 7.4 percent and overall food production 7.6 percent, whereas areas in crops increased by no more than 0.5 percent. Rice yields were increased by 150 percent and in some cooperatives, even 180 percent. As a result, the annual output of food per capita increased from 268 kilograms in 1980 to 309 kilograms in 1985 and, as a whole, from 14.4 to 18.2 million tons.

Irrigation projects are being pursued with a view to upgrading crop yields. During the 5-year period more than 200 different irrigation systems were completed in the SRV. The existing irrigation system enabled us to irrigate nearly 4.4 million hectares, to drain 880 thousand hectares and to provide water for 112 thousand hectares in secondary comestible crops.

The country's animal husbandry developed dynamically. The hog herd reached 12.6 million head, or 26 percent higher than in 1980. The cattle herd passed the 5 million and poultry the 100 million mark.

The efficiency of agricultural production was enhanced and thus the scarcity of food reduced thanks to the use of a progressive piece rate wage system based on end results, and contracting, including family contracts. Improvements were also the result of improved supplies to agricultural cooperatives of electric power, equipment, fertilizers, herbicides and other materials, and the development of a form of cooperation between the state and the cooperatives, such as the purchasing of agricultural commodities on the basis of bilateral economic contracts. Marketing-procurement cooperatives, which now exist in 95 percent of the country's communities, made a definite contribution to the enhancement of agricultural production.

The fuller utilization of the natural, manpower and economic potential of the different geographic areas in the republic will be helped by implementing the task formulated by the party of making the districts the basic agroindustrial units in the country's national economic complex, and the creation within them of large specialized farms and developing virgin and fallow lands in the Central Plateau, where major plantations of industrial crops--hevea, coffee and tea--are being organized. Thanks to the joint efforts of farmers and irrigation workers, the area with stable irrigation is being broadened in the fertile lands of the Mekong Delta; maritime industries are being developed, including the breeding of shrimp and the production of other sea products which enjoy stable demand abroad.

In formulating the indicators for the current 5-year period, priority was given to upgrading the efficiency of public production and the quality of output and the gradual elimination of technical backwardness. The fuller utilization of domestic material and manpower resources is considered the main source of intensification.

The average annual growth rates of the national income for the current 5-year period will be 6 to 7 percent. Food production, in terms of rice, will reach 22-23 million tons by 1990. The production of consumer goods will be increased annually by 13-15 percent. This will be achieved above all through the further encouragement of petty and artisan industries.

In the economic area, the efforts of the party, the people and the state are focused on the formulation and implementation of three major programs: food, consumer goods and exports.

At present, the party gives priority in its social policy to meeting the vital needs of the population. This means sufficient food production and employment. The first task is solved by giving priority to the development of agricultural production, which will have priority in terms of investments, material resources and skilled cadres. The second will be achieved through the redistribution of manpower resources among the individual areas and sectors, the development of artisan and craft industries and local state industry. The two tasks are closely interrelated. Population control remains

one of the characteristic features of Vietnam's social policy. Its growth rates will be reduced to 1.7 percent by 1990.

According to the plans for the country's social development, in some areas greater emphasis will be put on meeting the needs of the population for education, health care and culture. The congress pointed out the need to promote social equality, which is still being frequently and seriously violated, ensuring public order and security, and observing discipline in all areas of social life. Efforts are being made to promote distribution more on an economic rather than administrative-bureaucratic basis, so that it may be truly consistent with the amount of labor invested.

The congress noted that true renovation and restructuring, development of democracy and purging the entire management system from administrative-bureaucratic encrustations would be impossible without the active and conscious participation of the broad toiling masses in solving the vital problems of organizing the life and activities of the party and the country.

The VCP considers socialist collective economic management the essence of socialist democracy, which must be asserted in all areas of life. It was deemed expedient to consolidate the right of the people to collective economic management, legislatively as well as organizationally. The practical exercise of this right means upgrading the efficiency of state management, enhancing and perfecting the activities of mass public organizations and taking into consideration the interests and specific features of the different social groups. The use of cost accounting was described at the congress as a prerequisite for the further democratization of economic life. Whereas the main trend in the reform of economic management consists of planning and socialist cost accounting, naturally, it is completed by strengthening the economic autonomy of enterprises and collectives, which is a necessary base for their initiative, activities and equal relations with partners.

Democracy in the activities of the Communist Party remains the base and guarantee for the development of socialist democracy. This is the basis of the party forum's requirement of intensifying the collective nature of management and democracy in intra-party life.

The Vietnamese communists consider criticism and self-criticism a law of party development and a criterion of its democratic nature and responsibility to the people. The congress called upon the party workers and all party members to observe the principle of collective management and a collective work style. It was also pointed out that any abuse of power or restrictions imposed on the masses, the possibility of which is still not excluded, "must be condemned and disciplinarily punished."

Radical improvements in the work of the VCP are ascribed a leading role in the implementation of the 5-year plans. The congress's resolution indicates that "the creation of a politically, ideologically and organizationally powerful party is a decisive factor in the development of the revolution in Vietnam." The party itself, however, requires steady or periodical renovation of all of its activities and the advancement of its forms and methods of work.

The documents of the congress and the statements by the delegates clearly expressed the understanding that a new step can be taken in building socialism only by upgrading the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party and strengthening its ties with the masses. This depends on strengthening the ideological-political and organizational unity of the VCP, perfecting the style of its activities, engaging in active political work among the working people, maintaining unity between words and actions, surmounting formalism and paper-shuffling, and maintaining the loyalty of the VCP and every one of its members to the Leninist norms of party life, the principles of democratic centralism and the requirements of party discipline.

The party has undertaken the responsible and subjective analysis of its work while the preparations for the congress were still under way. Open party meetings were held at plants, factories, agricultural cooperatives, state farms, ministries and departments, where party and non-party members frankly discussed the most important problems of the country's life: socioeconomic development, organizational and political activities of the VCP, the situation on the cultural front and in public education; they impartially criticized the activities of the party and state apparatus and suggested specific steps aimed at improving the work. Such meetings substantially enhanced the political activeness of the working people and contributed to bringing order in some areas of building socialism. The considerable revival in the activities of primary party organizations enhanced their reputation. They began to pay greater attention to perfecting economic activities and ideological-educational work among the working people and changing the attitude toward the political activeness of the masses and their critical evaluation. The constructive and strict criticism "from below" by VCP members and the remarks and suggestions submitted by workers, peasants and intellectuals addressed at the congress were considered a manifestation of the unbreakable ties between party and people.

The VCP frankly points out shortcomings and existing negative phenomena, which include disrespect for the title of communist, poor work in self-education, and belittling of revolutionary ideals. Some cadre personnel (this topic, which was raised at the congress, is continuing to be discussed in the press) have become corrupted by the thirst for profit. They are appropriating socialist property, using their rights and official positions for personal gains, displaying dogmatism in their way of thinking, lack of discipline and lack of organization, and seriously violating the principles of democratic centralism and collective management. Bureaucratism, which is paralleled by phenomena, such as a low degree of consciousness, a work style inconsistent with contemporary requirements, formalism, and clumsiness of the apparatus, has caused and continues to cause substantial harm to the party and the state. In speaking of the reasons for shortcomings, the Vietnamese press also notes that we must take into consideration the subversive activities of the enemy in the ideological area and the constant influence of nonproletarian ideology on the party. The main reason lies in the failure to complete projects in the area of party building and the fact that the development of revolutionary qualities in the party members was left uncontrolled, discipline was weakened substantially and the ideological-political and organizational unity of the party was severely damaged. The administrative-bureaucratic

nature of the management system is being eliminated too slowly. This as well creates prerequisites for all kinds of distortions.

In recent years the party has done a great deal to surmount a variety of mistakes and blunders in its work. In particular, this was the purpose of the 1986 criticism and self-criticism campaign. After the reunification of the country, 190,000 members were expelled from the VCP for a variety of violations and many communists received party reprimands.

The VCP leadership decided that a purge of party ranks was necessary with a view to eliminating the negative phenomena we pointed out. In order to prepare for this campaign, the situation in all primary party organizations was comprehensively reviewed between 3 February (the anniversary of the founding of the party) and 19 May (the anniversary of the birth of Ho Chi Minh), in accordance with the principle formulated at the congress of "looking the truth in the face, making accurate assessments and telling the truth." Furthermore, a specific program was formulated and is being implemented for developing in the party members high moral and political qualities, making a thorough study of all cases of violations of discipline, getting rid of those who are unworthy of the title of communist and radically improving ideological and educational work on the basis of the dissemination of the great revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the party and the people, and correcting errors. "The renovation of thinking and enhancement of the revolutionary spirit of cadre workers, party members and people's masses" was described by the congress as the main task in ideological work.

At its 6th Congress, the party of the Vietnamese communists honestly and openly told the not very pleasant and, sometimes, even bitter truth about itself. As stated in the Central Committee's political report, everything which was accomplished and not accomplished in the society indicates that the party's leading activities had fallen behind the current tasks. The VCP Central Committee harshly criticized itself, the Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat, and the SRV Council of Ministers for errors and omissions which were allowed to occur. Many of them, the party self-critically acknowledged, are of a serious and protracted nature. "These are errors in strategic leadership and in organizing implementation." The influence of past errors, the political report noted, was manifested also in the fact that a number of party and economic workers have still not realized that "the country has a mixed economy which will remain for a rather long period of time." Nonetheless, the congress noted, the most difficult and, consequently, most important step in correcting errors was made, for errors were brought to light and analyzed; obsolete concepts are being replaced with new ones consistent with the real state of affairs.

The task set by the congress of "comprehensive renovation in thinking, in changing cadre policy and in the style of management and work" is very difficult to solve on a national scale. The point is that for many years "the concept of socialism, particularly of socialist industrialization, of the need for change and of the economic management mechanism, remained backward" in the minds of many leading workers in the party and state apparatus. That is precisely why the congress pointed out the increased significance of party ideological activities at the contemporary stage.



The elimination of obsolete views and approaches has already been substantially and positively reinforced in the guise of an essentially new concept of the pace of socialist change and of the initial stage of the transitional period. In this connection, the main task of the current 5-year plan is the stabilization of the socioeconomic situation of the country and the creation of prerequisites for subsequent socialist industrialization. In order to achieve this objective, we must produce a sufficient amount of food and undertake to create an efficient economic structure which would ensure increased output and promote and advance new production relations in accordance with the nature and level of development of production forces and comprehensively strengthen the socialist economic system (state and cooperative) so that it may play a leading role in the national economy. In the social area we must ensure population employment and organize the distribution of material goods according to labor.

The Vietnamese communists relate the implementation of the programs for socioeconomic stabilization, improving the life of the people, scientific and technical progress and socialist industrialization not only to the harnessing of internal material and human resources but also expanding and increasing the efficiency of foreign economic relations. The SRV is systematically implementing a policy of intensified cooperation with the socialist countries and participating in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA Member Countries Until the Year 2000 and the international division of labor, above all with the USSR, Laos, Cambodia and the other members of the community. Vietnam faces the difficult problem of all developing countries—to increase exports faster in order to meet import needs.

Problems of the international situation were among the most important discussed at the congress. Resolution emphasizes that Vietnam will continue to struggle for the safeguard of peace in Southeast Asia, in the Asian-Pacific area and throughout the world and will oppose the policy of imperialist circles, the arms race and the threat of nuclear war and use favorable international conditions for building socialism in the country. Great attention was paid at the congress to interaction among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the three countries of Indochina. Cohesion and respect for independence and sovereignty, cooperation and mutual aid in building the new society and defending the homeland are vital rules governing relations among them. Vietnam supports the course charted by the government of the People's Republic of Cambodia for a political settlement of the Cambodian problem on the basis of a policy of national conciliation, and is prepared to assist it in all possible ways.

The VCP once again proclaimed that Vietnam wants to normalize relations with China and suggests that talks on this matter be renewed "at any time, on any level and anywhere."

The congress indicated the resolve of the VCP to struggle for strengthening the international communist and worker movements on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and for cooperation among fraternal parties which favor peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, and to support the national liberation and nonaligned movements.

The 6th VCP Congress defined cohesion, strength and comprehensive relations with the Soviet Union as the cornerstone of the foreign policy of the party and the government; it proclaimed its full support of CPSU domestic and foreign policy as formulated at its 27th Congress.

The VCP welcomes the Soviet initiative aimed at preventing the threat of nuclear war and for the defense of peace and the principled position adopted by the USSR in the Reykjavik talks. Vietnam warmly approves of the Soviet initiative on problems of ensuring peace and security in the Asian-Pacific area and the New Delhi declaration on principles of a world free from nuclear weapons and violence.

The friendly state visit to the USSR of Nguyen Van Linh, VCP Central Committee general secretary, was another important contribution to the development of the unbreakable fraternal relations between the CPSU and the VCP and the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

In emphasizing the importance of the talks which took place, M.S. Gorbachev gave priority to the "resolve to continue to strengthen relations of friendship and solidarity existing between our peoples and to develop and intensify the mutually useful Soviet-Vietnamese interaction in all areas," clearly manifested by both sides.

In the course of the talks a thorough discussion was held on an entire set of problems of cooperation between the two countries and parties; the basic areas of its further expansion and strengthening were defined. Soviet-Vietnamese economic cooperation, not only along the state line, but also on the level of ministries and enterprises, will be concentrated, as the joint declaration states, on the production and processing of agricultural commodities, the production of consumer goods, the development in the SRV of a power industry, transportation, machine building and electronic, chemical and ore-mining industries, and the full utilization of production capacities and labor resources. To this effect, among others, long-term agreements were concluded on cooperation in the production of light industry goods in 1987-1990 and the period until the year 2000, of electrical engineering equipment and growing and processing tea and production of coconut oil.

The two sides shared the opinion of the need to bring the mechanism and forms of Soviet-Vietnamese interaction closer to the requirements of our time and substantially to upgrade their efficiency. The general areas and nature of such interaction were outlined: intensified production cooperation and specialization, mutual cooperation and creation of joint enterprises in industry and agriculture.

The decision was made to provide greater assistance to Vietnam in cadre training and retraining.

The agreements which were reached will enhance Soviet-Vietnamese relations to a qualitatively new level. Unquestionably, with every passing day they will expand, acquire new aspects and make a worthy contribution to building and perfecting socialism and strengthening the socialist community.

In his Kremlin speech, Nguyen Van Linh expressively and briefly described the main features of life of the Vietnamese people today. "Inspired by the spirit of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress," he said, "at its 6th Congress our party proved its resolve to engage in a profound renovation in all areas of economic and social life and in reorganizing the structure of the national economy." The Vietnamese communists have started the very difficult process of restructuring and renovation. Economic intensification, reorganization of management, and shaping a socialist social consciousness under the conditions of an underdeveloped country are drawing the attention of fraternal countries, communist and worker parties and revolutionary-democratic movements in the developing countries. That is why the 6th VCP Congress has become not only a turning point in the history of Vietnam but also a major event in the socialist community and the international communist movement.

The Soviet people highly rate the creative and realistic course of renovation, formulated at the 6th VCP Congress. They support it firmly and wish the Vietnamese working people success in the implementation of the congress's resolutions.

The almost 2-million strong detachment of Vietnamese communists is persistently working on the implementation of the party's plans. The overwhelming majority of the people actively support the program for action formulated by the congress. Its implementation will give the country socioeconomic stability and will enable it to earmark its next objectives with greater confidence and optimism and look forward to an industrialized socialist future which it will create through its own efforts.

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## THE WORLD ECONOMY -- METASTASIS OF MILITARISM

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[Article by Sergey Yevgenyevich Blagovolin, doctor of economic sciences, head of sector, USSR Academy of Sciences IMEMO, and Aleksandr Vladimirovich Buzuyev, candidate of economic sciences, docent, Moscow Finance Institute]

[Text] At the start of the 20th century, V.I. Lenin repeatedly noted the international nature of capitalist militarism and the cosmopolitan nature of the caste of owners of arms manufacturing companies, united by a common class interest in encouraging the military psychosis. Contemporary imperialist reality proves more convincingly than ever before the accuracy of Lenin's conclusion to the effect that "the international interwoven capital is doing excellent business in armaments and wars." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 26, p 232).

A qualitative leap has taken place in the militaristic preparations of imperialism in the past 15 years. Their global nature is becoming increasingly obvious. It is a question of involving a rather wide range of countries within a single system of imperialist military and military-economic activities, and the purposeful utilization of their resources and military power in solving specific problems on the global and regional levels.

The increased activeness of the military-industrial complexes (MIC) in the international arena is essentially a reflection of the political interests of the most reactionary segment of the ruling circles in the imperialist countries, the United States above all, who are relying on a power solution of international problems and on changing to their own advantage the existing military-strategic parity. This precisely is the prime reason for the global nature of imperialist military preparations, aimed at attaining a number of economic, political and military objectives.

Among them, priority is given to establishing the so-called "overall military power" (OMP) of imperialism, which is an entire system of de-jure and de-facto blocs and associations, which supplement each other and interact on the basis of a global assignment of functions in the military-political area.

Naturally, NATO is the nucleus of the OMP. However, the other blocs and associations play a very significant and ever-increasing role. This is

related to a gradual shift in priorities in U.S. political and economic interests, increasingly related to the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins. Unlike NATO, as a rule the other blocs and associations do not have such clearly developed organizational structures which presume joint middle- and long-term planning of military and military-economic preparations. However, the United States is a mandatory participant in each one of them, decisively influencing the nature and scale of interaction among participating countries. In frequent cases, furthermore, sharp disputes and differences exist among the countries which the United States tries to integrate within the OMP, even within the same areas (such as the Near and Middle East). Here as well there is a clearly apparent aspiration on the part of the U.S. military-political leadership to lower the level of such disputes providing that the other countries can be brought into the so-called "strategic community" in a matter of main importance to the United States--their participation, one way or another, in the implementation of global U.S. military-political plans. It is obvious that in a number of cases such an "informal system" of relations (without corresponding organizational structures) is yielding entirely real results. This includes encouraging the various components of OMP to reach a qualitative level needed for undertaking joint actions.

As important from this viewpoint as the development of OMP is the strengthening and broadening of a suitable military-economic structure, which, as it makes the functioning of the OMP possible, has already developed into a global capitalist war economy--a specific sector of the global capitalist economy.

A widespread system of organizational, scientific and technical and, in a number of cases, direct production and technological relations have been established among the military economies of the individual countries within the OMP, with the dominant role of the United States. On the basis of the intensification of the international division of labor in the production of war materiel a specific market has also appeared at which weapons and military ordnance (such as AWACS) are being marketed with virtually no "secrecy" restrictions.

Within the limits of the capitalist global military economy, armaments are being sold, a war industry is being created and updated, technology is shared, cadres are trained, etc. All of this plays a most important role from the viewpoint of the qualitative "equalization" of OMP elements.

As the CPSU program notes, "The imperialist powers are trying to coordinate their economic, political and ideological strategy. They are trying to set up a common front in the struggle against socialism and against all revolutionary and liberation movements." The military area plays a special role in such joint actions. It is precisely this area, in the circumstances in which interimperialist contradictions are not only not weakening but, in a number of cases, intensifying in a number of major problems, that is becoming the unifying factor the purpose of which is to reduce the effect of centrifugal trends.

Furthermore, the U.S. militaristic circles see in the development of a global military structure in the future what they consider to be the practically

unique and impeccable means of preserving American military-political hegemony in the capitalist world. Essentially, the U.S. actions, which are aimed at shaping the "overall military power" of imperialism, are a manifestation of the imperialist tendency to set up large empires, consistent with contemporary conditions, a tendency which, as V.I. Lenin pointed out, "is entirely attainable and, in practice, has been frequently attained in the form of an imperialist alliance among countries which are autonomous and independent in the political meaning of the word" (op. cit., v 30, pp 101-102).

Extensive cooperation between the United States and other countries in arms development and manufacturing dates from the start of the 1960s. Today a system of reciprocal sharing of technology and standardization of either entire systems of weapons or, on a much broader scale, of their basic assemblies and units, is already in place. Furthermore, the electronic-space communications, control and reconnaissance systems of many Western countries have been integrated with corresponding U.S. systems and use technical facilities produced in the United States (such as Navstar, AWACS, etc.). American companies are also participating in the development of officially "non-American" types of armaments and military ordnance, such as, for example, the EFA, which is a new European fighter aircraft. In recent years the activities of the American MIC in this respect have been particularly enhanced. This is seen in the aspiration to involve the other countries in the implementation of the so-called "strategic defense initiative" (SDI) and, on this basis, to achieve an unprecedented coordination of military scientific research, making full use of the possibilities of the international capitalist division of labor. Furthermore, the involvement of Great Britain, the FRG, Japan and Italy in the "star wars" program offers the United States substantial opportunities for retaining and strengthening its leading positions in the area of civilian NIOKR, and obtaining major additional advantages compared with its partners-rivals. As a number of specialists have pointed out, "The real purpose of SDI is to concentrate the entire advanced technology of the West in the United States and under its control" (THE MAINICHI DAILY NEWS, 20 September 1986).

The intention of acting independently of its partners, is a characteristic feature of the political line followed by the U.S. ruling circles in the military and military-economic areas. In the views of the American leadership, the partners must be so greatly dependent on the United States that they would simply have no other choice. It is presumed that the allies and partners, acting as military-strategic subcenters of imperialism, would function within the framework of a single concept of "global security," and "common strategic tasks" imposed upon them by the United States and based on joint counteraction to the fictitious "Soviet threat." In this case frequently the specific interests of a number of countries in the area of their regional security are ignored. Clearly, this situation cannot entirely satisfy even the militaristic segment of the ruling circles in these countries.

Many among them (not to mention the Western European countries and Japan) have such interests, which are quite distinct and different from those of the United States. Naturally, this does not apply to preserving close relations with the United States as a major element in the existing correlation of

forces in the international arena. However, it creates prerequisites for their distancing themselves from the power line of American policy aimed at changing this correlation.

Hence the likelihood of the strengthening of centrifugal trends within the OMP, greatly assisted by the increasing possibilities of many countries to provide for their independent or collective satisfaction of their security needs. In turn, this also must be regulated on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements with a view to preventing a new impetus in the arms race.

Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly clear that solving international problems by force entails an increased danger of becoming involved in a fatal conflict. The very idea of "overall military power" may, therefore, be unacceptable to many countries related to the United States.

Actually, a look at their historical experience and features of the contemporary situation in the world indicates that even without any particular emphasis on increasing the militaristic component in the economic and political structure of society, even the biggest capitalist countries (such as Japan) could substantially strengthen their positions not only on the regional but on the world level as well. Conversely, the United States finds itself in a situation in which it pays for unrestrained militarization with the aggravation of its domestic economic and social problems. We believe that an awareness of such realities leads to the manifestation of a growing trend toward seeking another, a nonmilitaristic solution of international problems, which is becoming apparent in the sociopolitical life of many capitalist countries.

Naturally, the ruling U.S. circles and the American MIC are making great efforts to prevent such a development of events by globalizing military and military-economic activities. The legitimate question arises of the possible impact of such growing processes on the ability of different countries to solve the problems of their own military activities on the basis of their own interests and concepts. Indeed, the national military and military-economic preparations and military-industrial complexes (or their elements) of countries involved in the OMP and in the global capitalist military economy, are to a great extent no longer subject to national control. A kind of "external outline" of management is developed, largely controlled by the United States and used by it to generate militaristic processes in other countries. The development of multinational MIC plays a growing role in this, i.e., their development in various forms of military production outside national borders.

The foreign investment expansion of military-industrial companies, which began only in the past 20 years, is the result of two interwoven processes: the growth of output abroad by national military-industrial corporations and the increasingly active involvement of civilian multinational monopolies in the war business. It is at the point where such processes come together that a specific variety of monopoly capitalism has appeared--the military-industrial multinational corporations, which are oriented not only toward the national but also the global capitalist arms market, with their network of foreign

branches and affiliates, actively participating in the international division of labor in armament production. Today they include the overwhelming majority of the main suppliers of the Pentagon and of the military departments of the biggest Western European countries.

What motivates the armament manufacturers to invest their capital abroad? Their specific reasons may vary greatly. They may include the penetration into other countries, with a view to expanding markets and bypassing some governmental restrictions existing in their own countries, pressing their competitors and threatening them on their own national territory. Frequently, capital is exported also with a view to ensuring the availability of strategic raw materials needed in the production of contemporary weapons and combat materiel systems. Furthermore, in the case of the individual military-industrial company, capital exports are, above all, a tool in the general policy of maximizing sales and profits.

Naturally, the main reason for the export of military-industrial capital is much deeper: the aggravation of internal contradictions in the effect of the law and trend of declining average profits, which is most clearly manifested in the existence of a permanent "surplus" of capital. In our view, this very reason, in the final account, is what triggers the increased interest on the part of the largest monopolies in the civilian sector--the multinationals--to engage in war industry production, which is a new form of solving (although temporary and partial) contradictions related to excessive accumulation of capital.

The gradual involvement of civilian multinational corporations in the war business is determined, above all, by the relative worsening of the conditions under which monopoly profits are earned in the nonmilitary sector of the global capitalist economy.

Profits from the manufacturing of armaments enjoy a peculiar immunity from changes in the phases of cyclical developments; they are virtually guaranteed in all cases as long as there is tension in the world. The worsening of the international situation by the turn of the 1980s created particularly favorable conditions for increasing war production at multinational enterprises in the entire capitalist world.

In this respect changes in the ownership structure play a major role. The increasing popularity of mixed companies (in which the participation of multinationals ranges from 10 to 50 percent) is one of the most important principles in the long-term strategy of foreign expansion of multinational monopoly capital. As a rule, in this case real control is not allowed to pass into the hands of the foreign partner.

The military-industrial multinational corporations pay equal attention to involving foreign enterprises in their global plans for production-technical cooperation. In practice this frequently gives war production in foreign countries the nature of an "enclave." Such enclaves function in the interests of and on the basis of the orders of the military departments of the leading imperialist countries and depend to the greatest extent on the scale and nature of their military programs. An orientation toward the "partial" and



narrow specialization of such enclaves is aimed, in addition to other reasons, at preventing other countries from learning their most important military secrets. It is thus that leadership in the military-economic area in the capitalist world becomes reliably tied to the leading imperialist countries.

In recent years, the military-industrial multinational corporations have begun to make increasing use of the opportunities provided by regional integration processes. That is precisely why, in addition to the developing trend toward military production "enclaves" abroad, they also encourage the development of the opposite trend (wherever they find this profitable), i.e., the creation of large military production facilities which become part of the economic structure of other countries and are oriented toward marketing finished military hardware on national and regional markets.

The largest amount of capital invested abroad in war production is that of American monopolies: according to most conservative estimates, such investments amount to no less than \$4-5 billion. The spread of such investments is truly global. The leading military-industrial monopolies of Western Europe are beginning to apply the experience of their overseas allies ever more energetically. In recent years, their participation in military business abroad has grown significantly. They are becoming increasingly interested also in the U.S. market itself.

Whereas in the civilian sectors most of the capital is in the nature of direct investments, in the military sector it is in the nature of portfolios which officially do not grant total control, or else through the organization of "joint ventures," i.e., joint enterprises. Thus, for example, the Pratt and Whitney Aircraft Company, which is a subsidiary of the American United Technologies monopoly, acquired a block of stock of the French SNECMA military-industrial monopoly, while the Northrop concern purchased shares of CASA, the Spanish aircraft missiles corporation.

The orientation toward portfolio rather than direct investments in foreign military enterprises, which produce comprehensive combat ordnance or weaponry systems, is dictated, above all, by political factors--restrictions imposed by the governments of the host countries. However, portfolio investments as well are frequently made for the same purposes as direct investments. Frequently owning no more than a few percentages of the stock, if it is accompanied by transferring licenses to a foreign company, management contracts, and the conclusion of agreements on production cooperation and specialization, is sufficient for assuming effective control over the activities of the company. In such cases, in the final account, as a rule portfolio investments "grow" into direct capital investments.

The conclusion of military-production cooperation agreements, which frequently assume the shape of consortiums, within which military hardware, licenses and capital are switched from country to country, have become a specific form of multinationalization of the military-industrial complex, increasingly determining the basic trends in the development of the international capitalist division of labor in the military area.

Due to the increased complexity of contemporary weaponry, the military-industrial circles in the individual countries try to combine financial and scientific research resources for their joint development and production faster and at minimal risk, while, at the same time, obtaining the opportunity of expanding their markets. A major factor in the widespread nature of such agreements in recent years has been the drastic aggravation of competition in the world capitalist armament market; participation in cooperation programs is one of the most efficient sources of military contracts in another country.

The international military cooperation programs, which call for joint operations in the scientific and technical, production and commercial-marketing areas, could involve several hundred or even thousand companies. The object of such cooperation is essentially any new system of weapons or type of combat ordnance. In a number of cases, however, agreements are concluded on joint work only on individual sectors or limited areas in the development of new weaponry systems. Such cooperation may assume a great variety of organizational forms, ranging from special contracts with companies in other countries or domestic foreign subsidiaries, for the procurement of individual components of the finished product, to joint work on the entire set of production assignments and the creation of mixed enterprises.

The American military-industrial monopolies are in a leading position in the number of concluded cooperation agreements in the capitalist world. The leading 10 U.S. companies are involved (mainly together with monopolies in NATO members and Japan) in work on more than 50 major cooperated military projects in developed capitalist and developing countries.

The development of the F-16 fighter aircraft is an example of the scale of multinational cooperation in a military program, headed by American MIC. The U.S. military-industrial companies, which earn millions of dollars in income from participation in the program, have also assumed control over the development of the aircraft missile industries of four small countries (Belgium, Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands). Other major international cooperation projects include the development and production of new types of missiles, such as AMRAAM and ASRAAM, the EFA fighter aircraft, the "orbital manned space station," and many others. Unquestionably, SDI has become the largest program in armament development and production. For the first time it includes close cooperation in basic research, not to mention testing.

Military-economic multinationalization affects the financial area as well. Banks, which own major blocks of stock in military-industrial multinational corporations, or else which handle such stock as trustees, ensure the broad financial support of their foreign expansion, using to this effect the network of their offices, departments and subsidiaries throughout the world. At the same time, they guarantee for themselves direct participation in profits earned abroad by military-industrial monopolies.

The bourgeois state as well is becoming increasingly active in the multinationalization of military-economic activities. Thus, on the Pentagon's initiative, a special industrial group was set up within NATO, the task of which is comprehensively to organize direct contacts among corporations engaged in the production of armaments. Essentially, this group performs the

functions of an international governmental-monopoly cartel authority, actively participating in the implementation of the long-term NATO program for increasing armaments, which will be extended to almost the mid-1990s. The program calls for the implementation of about 100 plans for the production of new weaponry types and systems, including missiles, aircraft, ships and tanks. It is assumed that many of them will be implemented as part of international programs. To this effect, already now the NATO countries are actively encouraging forms of military cooperation, such as the establishment of international consortiums, concluding agreements on the joint production of weapons, division and coordination of production programs and granting licenses for the production of armaments and military ordnance.

The use of various forms of multinationalization of military production enables the American MIC to exert substantial influence on the war economy of all NATO members without exception. Canada is a clear example of this fact. At least one-half of its war industry is controlled by foreign owners. Seven of the 10 leading U.S. military-industrial corporations have branches and subsidiaries in that country, making them some of the leading Canadian producers and exporters of military ordnance. Furthermore, domestic military-industrial companies largely work on the basis of contracts with the U.S. Department of Defense. They account for more than 70 percent of the country's military exports. Such military-economic dependence of Canada on its southern neighbor is influencing the entire system of relations between the two countries. Despite numerous differences on a number of most important problems in the area of military policy, Canada follows the United States in virtually everything. Thus, the Canadian government gave its permission for the testing of American cruise missiles on its territory. As a kind of compensation for this, an order was placed with the Canadian subsidiary of Litton Industries, for the manufacturing of elements of the missile targeting system, which is one of the main components of the missile.

The involvement of a number of developing countries is a very important aspect in the globalizing of imperialist military-economic activities. As was noted in the CPSU program, imperialism "tries to involve them in its militaristic orbit and use them as bridgeheads in its aggressive global strategy."

Above all, the sale of huge quantities of arms and military ordnance to developing countries is steadily increasing. Thus, in the past 10 years the United States and the Western European NATO countries have sold to those countries (based on the value of contracts) weapons worth approximately \$200 billion (according to data of U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 28 May 1984, p 59; ADIU REPORT, March-April 1986, pp 1-2). As a rule, it is a question of the latest armaments delivered also to the armed forces of NATO members. This means that arsenals which greatly exceed defense needs and threaten not only their immediate neighbors but also could be used by the imperialist countries for their own aggressive purposes are being set up on the territories of an entire set of developing countries, at their expense. Naturally, such mass purchases of weapons cannot be explained merely in terms of external factors. They are also determined by some aspects of the policies pursued by individual developing countries.

The purchasing of armaments is accompanied by the arrival of a substantial number of instructors from the United States and other NATO countries, who, in frequent cases, directly participate in operating the purchased military ordnance. Western companies help in the construction of very expensive infrastructural projects (bases, communications systems, etc.) which are also made fully consistent with the combat requirements of NATO armed forces. It is thus that the developing countries become involved in the global military-political structure of imperialism which, in turn, inevitably leads to a sharp growth in their military-economic activities and the development of "internal militarism." The military expenditures of the main U.S. partners outside NATO (among the developing countries) accounts today for a substantial amount, roughly \$80-90 billion, and their armed forces number more than 3 million people; the amount of ordnance at their disposal is fully comparable to the corresponding overall indicators of European NATO members. In the last 10-15 years the military-industrial concerns of the United States and the other capitalist countries have set up companies as subsidiaries: these are military enterprises related to them technologically and organizationally, operating in a number of developing countries (Egypt, Pakistan, Singapore, Thailand and others). Some of them gradually grow into quite strong regional power centers with a developed military industry and military cadres trained with the help of the Western countries. All of this is a particularly important factor in the growth of the "overall military power" of imperialism and the expansion of its production base. It is normal for even developing countries (among those whose ties are with the West), which themselves have an impressive military-economic potential, technologically to remain almost totally dependent on their Western partners.

In this connection, let us not ignore the fact that at least a significant percentage of this qualitative leap in the arms race, currently undertaken by the United States, with the simultaneous expansion of its global military presence, is essentially paid for not only by its NATO partners and other developed capitalist countries but also by many developing countries to which such a purposeless waste of resources is particularly damaging.

In this case the U.S. military-industrial complex is the leading element in the system of relations with the help of which, perhaps differently but for the same purpose, U.S. ruling circles try to tie both developed capitalist and developing countries to their adventuristic neoglobalist foreign policy course.

The globalizing of military and military-economic activities of imperialism is also a reflection of the profound contradictions which are manifested with increasing clarity in the ruling Western elite on the subject of the ways and means to be applied in the further development of relations with socialist countries. The expansion of the military-industrial complex outside national boundaries led to the fact that a global military economy of capitalism was developed as a specific sector of the global capitalist economy. Its main function is material preparations for war, the steady growth of the arms race and achieving political objectives related less to the preservation of the capitalist system than to the destruction of the socialist one. Whereas as a whole the global capitalist economy inevitably enters into a comprehensive interaction with the global socialist economy, which today is something

persistently demanded by historical progress, understandably by its very nature its military sector neither can nor intends to develop such interaction, for which reason it hinders the development of objective processes which are vitally needed by mankind. This includes the organization of comprehensive cooperations among countries and nations in solving a number of vital global problems (ecological, food, etc.).

Bearing in mind that a military economy involves above all the most science-intensive, complex and rapidly developing sectors, one can imagine the scale of the obstacles it erects to the normal functioning of the global economy. A number of recent examples may be cited of the way in which restrictions imposed by citing so-called "security interests" greatly hinder international economic cooperation. Under the existing situation, when many realistically thinking political leaders in the Western countries are calling for abandoning the futile policy of pursuing military superiority and for seeking more constructive forms of international relations, this additional function of the war economy, alongside its basic function, is of great importance to the most aggressive and reactionary circles in the imperialist countries. It not only hinders changes in the psychological and political climate but also strengthens the positions of monopoly capital groups which, essentially, support the reactionary political groups currently in power in many Western countries.

An important aspect of MIC activities is its extremely negative impact on the solution of global problems. Actually, the interconnection between disarmament and development is no longer doubted. Limiting and even more so ending the arms race would have a very great impact on the nature and scale of the aid of developed to developing countries. However, even the huge funds spent by the developing countries themselves for military requirements which, according to our assessments, were about \$120-130 billion in 1986 could, naturally, be used entirely in the struggle against hunger, disease and illiteracy.

The military-industrial complexes are clearly profiting from the hotbeds of tension in the world, in the Near and Middle East, Africa and Central America. Maintaining such hotbeds means not only the waste of tremendous resources but also the impossibility of jointly solving the most crucial problems which, as a rule, are common to the countries within a given area. The waste of resources on a senseless arms race is not only a blow at the present hopes and needs of hundreds of millions of people but also at the future of mankind.

The globalizing of military-economic activities in the capitalist world is today, particularly in the face of the nuclear threat, a tremendous danger to the future of all nations, of all mankind. However, this process has not as yet become entirely complete and irreversible. That is why the realistic and profound awareness on the part of progressive and peace-loving forces of all the dangers of any further growth of such activities is so relevant today; immediately, and before it is too late, the necessary practical steps could be taken to erect insurmountable barriers on their way and, furthermore, turn them back, toward disarmament.

Efforts to justify the process of globalizing military-economic activities by citing the need to strengthen national security of one country or another by increasing its militaristic potential seem unconvincing. Under the circumstances of our nuclear-space age a truly reliable security should be based not on the arms race but on means of defense within the range of a sensible sufficiency and on collectively developed powerful political and legal mechanisms for regulating international relations.

The demilitarizing of the system of international economic relations should also play an important role. The main prerequisite in this case is the growing reciprocal trust and belief that the existing and functioning economic interconnections among countries or their associations are not subject to the threat of destruction by military force.

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## TO KNOW HOW TO PROTECT ONE'S LEGITIMATE RIGHTS

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[Review by Yu. Kudryavtsev, candidate of juridical sciences, of the book "Kak Zashchitit Svoe Pravo (Yuridicheskiye Sovety Grazhdanam)" [How to Protect One's Rights (Legal Advice to Citizens)] by D.M. Chechot. Yuridicheskaya Literatura, Moscow, 1987, 352 pp]

[Text] The epigraph of this recently published pocketbook-size work, which is very needed, timely and, perhaps, somehow as yet unusual today, cites V.I. Lenin's appeal of teaching the working people "to struggle for their rights in accordance with all the rules of the war for one's rights, which is legitimate in the RSFSR."

To many people even the most energetic statements on the rights of the individual, the fact that they are codified in the Constitution and the reliability of economic, social, political and legal guarantees of such rights, may be nothing but words unless the citizens themselves learn how to protect and defend such rights based on the power of the law and the firm understanding of their rights.

Appeals to improve the legal training of the population have been long and persistently sounded in the works by Soviet jurists and in the press. The leading authorities have also frequently addressed themselves to such matter and passed special decrees on the subject. Such efforts have yielded some results. Nonetheless, the emphasis has been mainly on proclaiming or providing a general explanation of the rights, whereas the situation urgently calls for teaching the people how actually to exercise them. This problem is discussed in this book which is entirely devoted to a description of the mechanism and ways and means through which the citizens can exercise and defend their job, housing, family, inheritance and other rights which are the subject of most disputes. Is this not an imperative of our time--to learn to practice democracy actively and specifically? One of the first steps in the development of civic-mindedness is to learn how to "fight" for one's rights, actively and legally while, at the same time, educating those who violate their direct obligation of observing Soviet laws.

The structure of the presentation of the material is noteworthy. Each "legal advice" (as we call the paragraphs within the individual chapters) includes a

minimum of the following information: 1. the nature of a given right and the means of exercising it; 2. typical conditions and circumstances which complicate the application of the laws and usually result in disputes; 3. typical cases of violations of the law; 4. nature of the legal norms pertaining to the matter; 5. specific recommendations in defending a violated law and basic arguments in the related dispute, including examples of how to file a claim; 6. warnings against erroneous and futile steps which one may take in defense of one's rights; 7. information on the competence of courts or other authorities adjudicating the dispute; 8. illustrations of the above with the help of practical examples.... As we may see, the information is virtually complete. It is presented in a logical sequence in which most frequently events develop in daily life and, therefore, as a result of which the need for legal advice arises.

The first chapter is entitled "Ways and Means of Exercising and Protecting the Rights and Interests of the Citizens." It is a description of all competent authorities to which one should turn with a complaint should his rights be violated. The author notes the alas still very little activeness shown by citizens in the defense of their own rights. Why is such activeness low? "It is a mixture of infantilism and misconceived intellectualism," the author notes. Although this is true, there is more to it. People are frequently uninformed of their rights, of the nature of the violation and where to seek redress and how. To put it even more bluntly, they question the sense of appealing and the possibility of redress. The main thing, we believe, is the rather widespread lack of faith in the possibility of obtaining justice! Such feelings developed during the period when not only many citizens' rights were occasionally not honored by those whose duty it was to do so, or else were violated by swindlers who "knew how to live." In frequent cases, legitimate demands for justice met with bureaucratic red tape or open scorn.

Today things are different; these are times of profound democratization of all areas of social life. The working person, who has been granted extensive socioeconomic, political and individual rights and freedoms, assumes to the fullest extent his legitimate central position in society. The party and the state are systematically displaying a new style of thinking and unity between words and actions in the area of human rights. The process of democratization sets under social control and makes vulnerable to criticism an increasingly broader circle of authorities, organizations and officials. The principle of equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law is being implemented more fully. Intolerance of illegality and violations of social justice and an active struggle for the triumph of the legitimate rights and interests of the citizens are obvious features and demands of our time. In this sense, this book, which is actively focused on the practical defense of the rights of citizens, is very timely.

Some people may not like it: those who fear democratization, who have become accustomed to violating the laws and to ignoring the interests of others, and who view others only as boring petitioners waiting to be heard. If such is the case, the author has achieved his purpose.

An unquestionably merit of the book is its consideration of the moral aspect of the protection of one's rights. It is no secret that observing the letter



of the law does not always mean acting morally, particularly in "sensitive" areas, such as family relations, inheritance, etc. With the democratization of social life, the moral aspect of human interrelationships becomes particularly important, as the author emphasizes.

Naturally, this book is not a legal encyclopedia with answers to all questions. Nor is this the author's purpose. It is a kind of "manual for action," a practical guide in jurisprudence, written in an intelligible and live style. Naturally, if necessary, the legal text, commentaries and special publications should be studied and, in particularly complex cases, one should consult an attorney.

The book "Kak Zashchitit Svoye Pravo" does not, nor could include a list of all rights enjoyed by the citizens of the USSR, which may need protection. It does not deal with political and individual rights and freedoms and some socioeconomic rights. We hope that they will be discussed separately. Incidentally, a corresponding legal base has been laid for this: the draft USSR Law on the Procedure for Appealing in Court Illegal Actions by Officials, Harming the Rights of Citizens. Let us hope that the book under review will mark the beginning of a new stage in a major and very important project: developing high legal standards among the population and specifically helping the working people in the defense of their legal rights.

Let us add to this that the book by D.M. Chechot is part of the series "27th CPSU Congress: Law, Democracy, Social Justice." Its publication is a declaration of the intention of making a basic change in the nature of popular legal publications. Such publications must reflect profoundly and truthfully the most complex problems of restructuring in the area of jurisprudence, critically interpret problems of our governmental and legal life and help hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens. The series already includes "Mestnyye Sovety i Trudovyye Kollektivy" [Local Soviets and Labor Collectives] by V.I. Novoselov, "Yuridicheskiye Dialogi" [Legal Dialogues] by Yu.V. Feofanov, and "Individualnaya Trudovaya Deyatel'nost' i Zakon" [Individual Labor Activity and the Law] by A.Yu. Kabalkin and L.I. Savenko; other books to be included in the series will be "Kooperativy: Chto Oni Mogut?" [Cooperatives: What Can They Do?] by V.M. Khinchuk, "Pravo i Perestroyka. Voprosy, Razdumya, Prognozy" [The Law and Restructuring. Questions, Thoughts, Forecasts] by S.S. Alekseyev, and others. The books in this series, written by noted specialists--scientists and practical workers--and aimed at the broadest possible readership will unquestionably provide answers to many complex legal questions which arise in the course of the restructuring of economic, social and political life and will contribute to the process of democratization and the comprehensive assertion of legality.

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#### SHORT BOOK REVIEW

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[Text] R.A. Ulyanovskiy. "Tri Lidera Velikogo Indiyaskogo Naroda" [Three Leaders of the Great Indian People]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 231 pp. Reviewed by Yu. Gankovskiy, doctor of juridical sciences, and R. Mukimdzhanova, doctor of historical sciences]

The variety of Soviet-Indian relations--political, trade-economic, scientific and technical and cultural--which were established 40 years ago, from the very first days of the liberation of Indian people from British colonialism--are a special phenomenon in the history of relations between countries belonging to different social systems. The role which this friendship played in setting India's independent foreign policy and strengthening its state sovereignty is universally known. Cooperation with our country helped and is helping India in surmounting the severe consequence of the colonial past, developing a modern industry and power generating, surveying its mineral deposits and strengthening its defense potential.

The state visit which M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, paid to India in November 1986 marked a qualitatively new stage in the development of friendly Soviet-Indian relations. The historical New Delhi declaration on the principles of a world free from nuclear weapons and violence, which was signed during the visit, is important not only to the USSR and India but to the entire earth, for it formulates the main areas of progress leading mankind, eventually, to a nuclear-free world.

In this connection, the readers' attention is necessarily drawn to the book by professor R.A. Ulyanovskiy, which deals with outstanding leaders of the Indian people: Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Jawaharal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. The lives of these political leaders are traced by the author in close connection with the history of the heroic struggle for the freedom and independence waged by the peoples of South Asia from the 1920s to the 1940s. He describes the establishment and strengthening of India's independence and its successes in the socioeconomic area and the international arena.

At the same time, the author describes the development of Soviet-Indian friendship and the way good neighborly relations and reciprocal understanding

between two great nations were achieved and the role played in this process by Mohandas Gandhi, Nehru and Indira Gandhi and the importance of Soviet-Indian friendly relations today in strengthening international security and universal peace.

The first part of the work is about M.K. Gandhi (1869-1948). The author traces the development of his ideological and political views and the difficult and occasionally painful path he covered in 50 years of struggle against oppression and despotism; he describes his tremendous role in turning the Indian national liberation movement into a powerful anti-imperialist force. In describing what made Gandhi's ideas attractive to millions of Indians, the author writes: "The ideas of Gandhi are rooted in India's deep national traditions and his social ideals are largely of a peasant, petit bourgeois nature" (p 47). Despite its very obvious utopian nature, Gandhi's ideal of creating a "society of universal well-being," as the author emphasizes, "objectively played a positive role in the Indian national liberation movement" (p 49).

The people of the Soviet Union are familiar with and remember the name of M.K. Gandhi who is respected for his outstanding contribution to the national liberation struggle of the Indian people. His humanistic ideas remain relevant to this day and have had great influence on shaping the peace-loving foreign policy of the Republic of India."

The essay that follows describes Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), the first prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of independent India. He was one of the founders of the nonaligned movement. He is described as a political figure of international importance, systematically promoting peace and friendship among nations, disarmament, abolishment of the colonial system and equal cooperation among countries. He is associated with important successes achieved by the young republic in strengthening its sovereignty and eliminating the most severe consequences of two centuries of colonial oppression and the elimination of the vestiges of feudalism and backwardness.

In tracing the process of the development of his ideological-political views, the author notes the interest with which Nehru studied the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The third part of the book deals with the life and activities of Indira Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter, who became involved in political activities since her youth. The author, who rates highly her contribution to the development of India and the surmounting of significant difficulties on the path of progress in the course of the country's independence, strengthening its international position, which was helped by a policy of peace and friendship with all countries interested in this and, particularly, the conclusion of the 9 August 1971 Soviet-Indian Peace, Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, writes that Indira Gandhi's person and political course had many domestic and foreign enemies. "She was killed in revenge for her decisive actions against extremism and terrorism, actions which she was forced to take as head of government" (p 213).

As a whole, let us note that this book is written in a style which makes it accessible to a wide circle of readers but also on a firm scientific basis. The author personally knew Nehru and Indira Gandhi. Specific historical data are cited and analyzed in the work, convincingly proving that the great Indian people can always rely on our country's support. Soviet-Indian friendship is an important factor of peace and stability in our restless times. The three great Indian leaders have made an outstanding contribution to the establishment and development of this friendship.

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## BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 87 (signed to press 3 Jun 87) pp 126

[Text] 1. "Vizit Generalnogo Sekretarya TsK KPSS M.S. Gorbacheva v Chekhoslovatskuyu Sotsialisticheskuyu Respubliku, 9-11 Aprelya 1987 Goda" [Visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, 9-11 April 1987]. Documents and materials, etc. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 80 pp with illustrations.

2. Ryzhkov, N.I. "Leninizm--Osnova Teorii i Politiki Perestroyki" [Leninism--Foundation of the Theory and Policy of Restructuring]. Report submitted at the 22 April 1987 ceremony held in Moscow on the occasion of V.I. Lenin's 117th birthday. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 32 pp.

3. "Vizit v Sovetskiy Soyuz Pervogo Sekretarya TsK PORP, Predsedatelya Gosudarstvennogo Soveta PNR Voytsekha Jaruzelskogo, 21-22 Aprelya 1987 Goda" [Visit to the Soviet Union by Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, 21-22 April 1987]. Documents and materials. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 31 pp.

4. "Dokumenty i Materialy XX Syezda Vsesoyuznogo Leninskogo Kommunisticheskogo Soyuza Molodezhi. 15-18 Aprelya 1987 Goda" [Documents and Materials of the 20th Congress of the All-Union Leninist Komsomol Youth League. 15-18 April 1987]. Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1987, 192 pp.

5. Blyumkin, V.A. "Etika i Zhizn" [Ethics and Life]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 111 pp.

6. Volobuyev, P.V. "Vybor Putey Obshchestvennogo Razvitiya: Teoriya, Istoriya, Sovremennost" [Choice of Ways of Social Development: Theory, History, Contemporaneity]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 312 pp.

7. "Voprosy Teorii i Zhizn" [Problems of Theory and Life]. Collection of articles. No 8. L. Spiridonov, responsible editor. Compiled by V. Glagolev and V. Usanov. Pravda, Moscow, 1987, 318 pp.

. Zhdanova, T.I. "Ideologicheskuyu Rabotu--Na Uroven Sovremennykh Trebovaniy" [Ideological Work on the Level of Contemporary Requirements]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 64 pp.

9. Ilinskiy, I.P. "Sotsialisticheskoye Samoupravleniye Naroda " [Socialist Self-Government by the People]. Mysl, Moscow, 1987, 237 pp.

10. "Internatsionalnoye Sotrudnichestvo KPSS i KPV: Istoriya i Sovremennost" [International Cooperation Between the CPSU and the VCP: History and Contemporaneity]. A.G. Yegorov and Nguyen Vinh, general editors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 334 pp.

11. "Kapitalizm na Izkhode Stoletiya" [Capitalism at the End of the Century]. A.N. Yakovlyev, scientific editor. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 462 pp.

12. Kasyanenko, V.I. "Pravda i Lozh o Strane Sovetov" [Truth and Lies About the Land of the Soviets]. From the history of the struggle against anti-Sovietism. Mysl, Moscow, 1987, 336 pp.

13. "Kritika Sovremennykh Nemarksistskikh Kontseptsiy Filosofii Nauki" [Critique of Contemporary Non-Marxist Concepts of the Philosophy of Science]. A.I. Rakitov, responsible editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1987, 239 pp.

14. Kulkin, A.M. "Kapitalizm, Nauka, Politika" [Capitalism, Science, Politics]. Mysl, Moscow, 1987, 270 pp.

15. Levin, B.M and Levin, M.B "Mnimyye Potrebnosti" [Fictitious Needs]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 128 pp.

16. Poshatayev, V.V. "Raskovanny Prometey" [Prometheus Unbound]. Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1987, 239 pp.

17. Ryzhikov, V.A. "Sovetsko-Angliyskiye Otnosheniya" [Soviet-British Relations]. Basic historical stages. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1987, 279 pp.

18. "XVII Syezd Kommunisticheskoy Partii Chekhoslovakii" [17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party]. Prague, 24-28 March 1986. Translated from the Czech. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 336 pp.

19. "Slovar po Partiyному Stroitelstvu" [Party Building Dictionary]. Compiled and edited by I.A. Shvets. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 366 pp.

20. "'Tikhookeanskoye Soobshchestvo': Plany i Perspektivy" ["The Pacific Community:" Plans and Prospects]. I.I. Kovalenko, responsible editor. Nauka, Moscow, chief editorial board for Eastern literature, 1987, 350 pp.

21. Ceausescu, N. "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya. 1982-1986 Gg." [Selected Works, 1982-1986]. Translated from the Romanian. Politizdat, Moscow, 1987, 399 pp.

22. Chernega, V.N. "Burzhuaiznyye Partii v Politicheskoy Sisteme Frantsii" [Bourgeois Parties in the French Political System]. The Third-Fifth republic. Nauka, Moscow, 1987, 300 pp.

23. Shalayev, S.A. "Otchet o Rabote VTsSPS i Zadachi Professionalnykh Soyuzov SSSR v Svete Resheniy XXVII Syezda KPSS" [Accountability Report on the Work of the AUCCTU and the Tasks of USSR Trade Unions in the Light of the Resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress]. Report submitted at the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress, 24 February 1987. Profizdat, Moscow, 1987, 79 pp.

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#### AFTER PUBLICATION IN KOMMUNIST

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[Text] The editors of KOMMUNIST received extensive mail as a reaction to the publication of the editorial article "More Extensive Dissemination of the Resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress" (No 18, 1986), which analyzed the work of the theoretical and political journals of central committees of communist parties of union republics.

The letter by G. Bobosadykova, Tajik Communist Party Central Committee secretary, notes the following: The CPSU Central Committee decree on the journal KOMMUNIST formulated a number of new tasks fully reflecting the spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress, addressed to the entire party press and the social sciences. The collective of KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, is persistently working on their implementation. The meetings of editors in chief of republic journals, sponsored by KOMMUNIST, were of great help in organizing its activities in accordance with the new requirements.

"We studied the survey of republic party journals carried by KOMMUNIST closely, with a great deal of interest," the letter reads. "The conclusions and suggestions presented in this survey were studied at a party meeting of the editorial personnel of the journal KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA and adopted as the foundation of its work."

The editors of KOMMUNIST UKRAINY reports that the review of republic party journals by KOMMUNIST, the journal of the CPSU Central Committee, was discussed by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and at a party meeting of the editors. The critical remarks expressed in the journal and its suggestions and recommendations were considered in formulating the long-term work plan and studied by the personnel of all departments with a view to their practical utilization. The KOMMUNIST survey justifiably pointed out the insufficiently full discussion of a number of important problems by republic party journals. Steps are being taken to eliminate this shortcoming and to increase the critical nature and upgrade the efficiency of materials.

"It would be desirable for KOMMUNIST to continue periodically to survey republic party journals and analyze the way they interpret topical contemporary problems," the response of KOMMUNIST UKRAINY further emphasizes. "This will help to upgrade the theoretical standard of published materials."



The survey was the topic of a specific businesslike discussion at an expanded meeting held by the editors of KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII, they reported. Emphasized at the discussion, above all, were the timeliness of the publication of this survey and the importance of the questions it raised.

The editors paid particular attention to the just critical remarks expressed on the subject of KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII. They extensively discussed the specific steps earmarked to upgrade the ideological-theoretical and literary standards of articles. In particular, the long-term work plan of the editors of KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII was amended and expanded; topics were set for roundtable meetings and discussions on topical theoretical problems and new sections were introduced. Creative cooperation with the editors of theoretical party journals of neighboring fraternal republics--the Ukraine and Lithuania--will be developed further.

"What are the thoughts and considerations triggered by the review?" the editors of KOMMUNIST KIRGIZSTANA asks. "It enables each editorial board, during the difficult period of restructuring, to compare its searches for new forms of interpreting this comprehensive work to similar efforts made by colleagues in other parts of the country. The purposefulness of the survey helps us to find our way more efficiently in all changes needed in the activities of party publications, for they discuss both successes as well as failures. The main impression gathered from the study of the initial post-congress experience of other editorial boards is the common aspiration to be in step with our time in planning journalistic searches, forms of presentation of the materials, work with contributors, and so on.

"We would like for KOMMUNIST to provide in the future not only general but also topic surveys of republic party journals," the Kirghiz answer reads. "Such surveys do not have to analyze the content of all journals. They could discuss a group or even a single journal which is successfully treating one topic or another."

In summing up the results of this brief exchange of views on the tasks of republic political and theoretical party journals under the conditions of restructuring, the editors of KOMMUNIST regretfully note that not all republics have responded to the survey.

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## CHRONICLE. MEETINGS WITH THE EDITORS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 9, Jun 87 (signed to press 3 Jun 87) pp 127-128

[Text] A roundtable meeting on the topic of "The Great October Revolution and Problems of Noncapitalist Way of Development" was sponsored jointly by KOMMUNIST, NAMYN AMDRAL, the journal of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, and KOMMUNIST KIRGIZSTANA, of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, in Frunze. The roundtable meetings were attended by members of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, party workers, scientists from Central Asian republics and representatives of the party journal of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenia. A report on the roundtable meeting will be published in one of the forthcoming issues of KOMMUNIST.

A readers' conference was held at the Political Education House of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, with the participation of social scientists, party workers and the ideological aktiv of the republic's capital. Crucial problems of improving international education, developing the economic, philosophical and historical sciences, and problems of perfecting the propaganda of Marxist-Leninist theory were discussed.

A roundtable meeting between KOMMUNIST editors and leading scientists of the Siberian Departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and VASKHNIL and scientists from the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences was held at the House of Scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department (Novosibirsk). The meeting was sponsored by the editors of KOMMUNIST together with the Novosibirsk CPSU Obkom and the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Presidium. The roundtable discussion dealt with the role and tasks of science under the conditions of restructuring, the results and lessons of 30 years of development of the Academy of Sciences Siberian Department and the future of science in the area. A report on the roundtable meeting will be published in a forthcoming issue.

A readers' conference was held in the conference hall of the Novosibirsk CPSU Obkom, with the participation of party workers, social scientists from VUZs and academic institutes, the ideological and propaganda aktiv and members of the Novosibirsk public. The speeches dealt with the postcongress articles published in KOMMUNIST. Wishes for future activities were formulated. The

need for profound theoretical summations and an all-round scientific study of processes occurring at home and abroad was particularly emphasized.

A roundtable meeting sponsored by KOMMUNIST on the topic "For a Sober Way of Life: Experience, Problems, Solutions," was held in Ulyanovsk. It was held together with the Ulyanovsk CPSU Obkom and the All-Union Voluntary Sobriety Society. The meeting was attended by party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic managers, workers, kolkhoz members, educators, scientists, medical workers and activists of the sobriety society. The participants in the discussion spoke on the contemporary status of the problem of eliminating drunkenness, alcoholism and drug addiction and on the scientific, educational and organizational support of the struggle for the assertion of sobriety as a standard of life. The positive experience acquired by the oblast party organization in this area was summed up. A report on the roundtable meeting will be published in the journal.

KOMMUNIST editors met with propagandists from the Sverdlovskiy, Kirovskiy and Moskvoretiskiy rayons in Moscow and the party committees of oblast organizations in Moscow Oblast at the V.I. Lenin Central Museum. The participants discussed problems of improving the management of the socialist economy, developing the political awareness of Soviet people and the role of historical knowledge and information on international events in enhancing it.

The editorial premises of KOMMUNIST were visited by a delegation of the Irish Labor Party, consisting of secretary general S. Garland, party vice chairman and member of parliament P. DeRoss, and D. O'Hagan, member of the party's political committee, who are visiting the USSR on the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. The Irish comrades spoke on the situation in their country and in Northern Ireland and asked about the work of the journal and its plans in covering topical problems of international life.

The editors were visited by Gustavo Irales, member of the Political Commission and the Secretariat of the United Socialist Party of Mexico Central Committee and director of the newspaper ASI ES, who is visiting Moscow on the invitation of the newspaper PRAVDA. The guest asked about the economic aspects of restructuring taking place in our country. In turn, he described the process of consolidation of left-wing forces, which is currently taking place in Mexico, and their struggle for the interests of the working people.

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